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JERUSALEM IN BIBLE TIMES

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THE WAILING-PLACE OF THE JEWS AT JERUSALEM

Jerusalem in Bible Times

BY

LEWIS BAYLES PATON, PH.D., D.D.

Professor of Old Testament Exegesis and Criticism in Hartford Theological Seminary
Director of the American School of Oriental Study and
Research in Palestine, 1903-04



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THROUGH WHOSE GENEROSITY THESE STUDIES
WERE MADE POSSIBLE, THIS BOOK
IS DEDICATED

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PREFACE

During the season of 1903-4 it was my privilege to reside in Jerusalem as director of the American School of Oriental Study and Research, and to carry on special investigations into the ancient history of the city. While thus engaged I was constantly reminded of the lack of a handbook giving in convenient form the results of the latest archaeological researches. Baedeker's admirable guide-book is necessarily brief, and discusses archaeological matters topographically, rather than in the historical order that is necessary, if one is to understand their significance. The learned works on Jerusalem of Professor Adam Smith, and of Dr. Selah Merrill, which have appeared since this book was written, are too elaborate and expensive to be used by the ordinary student or tourist. Intelligent travelers in visiting the Holy City are at the mercy of ignorant dragomans, who can only repeat the worthless traditions of the particular ecclesiastical bodies with which they happen to be connected. There is not a guide in Jerusalem who does not believe that the name of the southwest hill is Zion, yet no scientific archaeologist of today holds that view. At the time of the meeting of the World's Sunday-School Convention in Jerusalem hundreds of eager people found it impossible to get either from men or from books an accurate account of the remains of the ancient city. To help this difficulty I was invited to lecture before the convention and to conduct some parties about the city. At the close of the meeting I was asked to put my addresses into permanent form, so that it might be possible for those who had heard them, and for other students of the Bible, to give them more careful consideration. The result of this request has been the preparation and publication of this series of studies into the archaeological history of ancient Jerusalem. During the past year they have appeared in successive numbers of the *Biblical World*, and they are now issued in book form, with corrections and additions, in the hope of reaching a still wider circle of readers. I trust that they will prove helpful both to students at home and to travelers in the Holy Land.

LEWIS BAYLES PATON

HARTFORD, CONN.
August, 1908

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CHAPTER I

THE LOCATION OF THE TEMPLE

The Temple was the most important building in ancient Jerusalem. It was the center, not only of the religious, but also of the political and social life of Judea. It is more often mentioned in the Old Testament than any other place, and other places are habitually described by their relation to it. Accordingly, it furnishes the best starting-point for an investigation of the topography of ancient Jerusalem.

There is no doubt that Herod's Temple stood on the site of Solomon's Temple. Solomon's Temple remained undisturbed until its destruction by Nebuchadrezzar. This destruction was not complete. The walls were partly cast down, so that the place could not be used as a fortress; but the stones were not carried away, and it was still easy to see where the ancient edifice had stood. The three deportations of the Judeans made by Nebuchadrezzar did not strip the land of its inhabitants. According to Jer. 40:11 ff., there was a considerable remnant left under the hand of Gedaliah, the governor. Even after the assassination of Gedaliah and the flight of many to Egypt (cf. Jer. 43:5-7), there was still a considerable number of the peasantry left. These people knew where the Temple had stood, and they kept up sacrifice on the site of the old Altar. Jer. 41:5 tells us how "there came eighty men, having their beards shaven and their clothes rent, and having cut themselves, with meal-offerings and frankincense in their hand, to bring them to the house of Yahweh."

The exile lasted only fifty years (586-536 B. C.), and many of those who returned had worshiped in the old Temple and knew exactly where it stood. When the second Temple was built in 520 B. C., there were still some who had seen the Temple of Solomon in its glory. According to Ezra 3:12, "the old men that had seen

the first house, when the foundation of this house was laid before their eyes, wept with a loud voice." Hag. 2:3 inquires: "Who is left among you that saw this house in its former glory? and how do ye see it now? is it not in your eyes as nothing?" It is inconceivable therefore, that the site of Solomon's Temple should have been lost during the brief period of the exile. Zerubbabel's Temple must have been reared on exactly the same spot where its predecessor stood.



Photograph by L. R. Paton

THE HARAM ESH-SHERÎF FROM THE SOUTHWEST

It is certain also that Herod's Temple stood on the same ground as Zerubbabel's Temple. From Josephus, *Ant.*, xv, 11:2 and *War*, v, 5:1, it appears that Herod's work was merely an enlargement of that of his predecessors, and that the Jews would not suffer a stone of Zerubbabel's Temple to be taken down until another stone was ready to put into its place. Accordingly, it may be regarded as certain that there was no change in the location of the Temple from the time when it was first built to the time when it was destroyed by Titus. If, then, we can determine the location of Herod's Temple

we shall also know where Solomon's Temple stood, and shall have found the key to the problem of the pre-exilic topography of Jerusalem.

Fortunately for archaeology, the location of Herod's Temple can be determined with certainty. An unbroken tradition of Jews, Christians, and Mohammedans, existing from the earliest times, locates the Temple on the site of the Ḥaram-esh-Sherif, the "Noble Sanctuary," or "Mosque of Omar," as we are accustomed to call it, on the eastern hill of modern Jerusalem. The correctness of this tradition is confirmed by archaeological research, for the description of Herod's Temple given by ancient writers corresponds with numerous remains still to be seen in and about the Ḥaram area.

Our two main sources of information are the accounts of Josephus in *Ant.*, xv, 11; *War*, v, 5, and of the Mishna tractate *Middoth*, chap. ii.¹ Josephus was a priest, who had himself ministered in the sanctuary, so that his knowledge of the Temple rested upon personal observation.² The tractate *Middoth* was composed, though not written, within a century after the destruction of the Temple and embodies the tradition of the priests and Levites. Both of these works, accordingly, are authorities of the first class in regard to the original appearance of the Temple.

1. *The Platform*.—In regard to the Platform on which the Temple stood Josephus gives an account in *Ant.*, xv, 11:1-5; xx, 9:7; *War*, i, 21:1; v, 5:1. From these descriptions the following features are clear: The Temple lay on a narrow, rocky ridge between two deep valleys that ran north and south. On the east the valley was so deep that it made one dizzy to look down into it. The city lay over against the Temple on the west, and curved around in the manner of a theater. The Temple hill was highest at the point where the Sanctuary stood, and sloped rapidly to the south and to the east. The top of the hill was insufficient for a large edifice, and room could be obtained only by building massive substructures. The retaining walls of the Platform rose on three sides—the west,

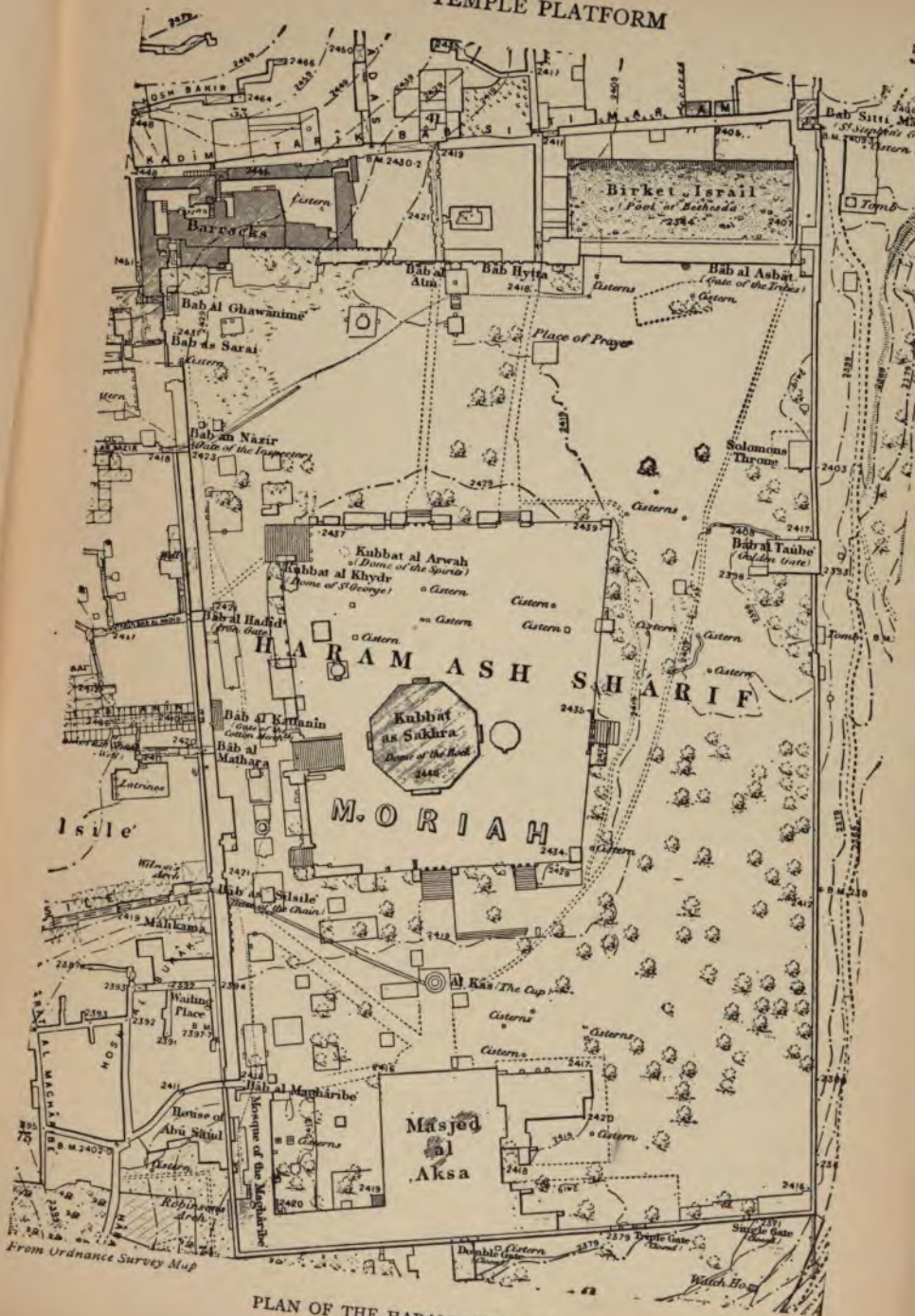
¹ The Greek text of Josephus is given in the critical edition of Niese, 1887-95; English translations by Whiston, and by Shilleto. The tractate *Middoth* is translated in Barclay's *The Talmud*, in the Appendix to Fergusson's *Temples of the Jews*, and in the *Jerusalem Volume* of the Palestine Exploration Fund.

² On the life of Josephus, see Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, Vol. V, p. 461.

south, and east. On the south the wall ran all the way from valley to valley. The walls were joined to native rock at the bottom and rose to such a height that they were level with the top of the hill. This necessitated an elevation of 300 cubits, or 450 feet. They were so lofty that people who fell from them were instantly killed. The stones were white and of enormous size, some of them being 20 cubits in length and 6 cubits in height. The space inside of the wall was filled so as to construct a large, level platform, and on the outside the foundations were covered in order to raise the ground to the level of the streets of the city.

With all the features of this description the modern Ḥaram area exactly corresponds. It lies on the narrow eastern hill of Jerusalem, between the deep valley of the Wādy Sitti Maryam on the east and El-Wād on the west. The western hill, on which the modern city lies, curves about it in a semicircle. Borings in the Ḥaram area disclose that the rocky surface slopes rapidly to the south and to the east, so that the summit of the hill is naturally inadequate for a large edifice. The area is inclosed only on the west, south, and east, and on the north there is level ground connecting with the northeast quarter of the city. The south wall reaches all the way from El-Wād to Wādy Sitti Maryam. The excavations of the Palestine Exploration Fund have shown that the foundations of these walls go down to native rock. At the southeast corner of the Ḥaram a shaft had to be sunk to a depth of 80 feet before the bottom of the wall was found, and at the northeast corner there was a depth of 125 feet. In spite of the vast accumulations of rubbish that now hide the lower portion of the wall, it still towers to an imposing height above the valley; and if the rubbish were removed, it would show the 300 cubits that Josephus mentions. Huge stones may still be seen at the Wailing-Place of the Jews in the western wall, and throughout the entire length of the southern and eastern walls; and they are made of white limestone such as Josephus describes. In the southeast corner of the Ḥaram area there are immense vaults, known as "Solomon's Stables," that raise the top of the Platform to the needed height, and around the southern end of the Platform the ground has been filled in, precisely as Josephus states. It appears, accordingly, that in every particular the retaining wall of the Ḥaram

TEMPLE PLATFORM



PLAN OF THE HARAM ASH-SHERIF

area corresponds with the description of the outer wall of the Temple constructed by King Herod.

In regard to the size of the Outer Court that stood upon the Platform, our authorities disagree. Josephus, *Ant.*, xv, 11:3, states that it was a stadium, or 400 cubits—i. e., 600 feet square. *Middoth*, ii, 1, says that it was 500 cubits—i. e., 750 feet square. The actual length of the south wall of the Haram is 922 feet. The different figures given by Josephus and *Middoth* show that both depended upon rough estimates rather than upon measurement; consequently, their lack of correspondence with the actual length of the south wall constitutes no objection to identifying it with the south wall of Herod's Platform. It should be noted also that their measurements apply to the court within the inclosing wall and are exclusive of the broad cloisters that encompassed the court on all four sides.

On the north and west Josephus gives the same dimensions for the Platform as on the south—namely, 400 cubits, or 600 feet. The present Haram wall measures 1,601 feet on the west and 1,530 on the east. If this disproportion between the length and the breadth had existed in Josephus' day, he could not have spoken of the Temple area as square. This seems to show a serious lack of agreement between the Temple and the modern Haram. Explorations show, however, that the original Haram area did not extend so far north as the present one. In the south wall of Birket Isra'el, the traditional Pool of Bethesda, which stands at the north end of the present Haram inclosure, no ancient stones have been found. This shows that Herod's Platform did not extend so far north. No corner or straight joint exists in the face of the east wall at the present northeast corner of the Haram; consequently the original north line cannot have joined the east wall at this point. Just beyond the Golden Gate, however, the character of the masonry changes, and this seems to show that the ancient northeast corner was at this point. The north wall of Herod's Temple apparently coincided with the north line of the present Inner Platform of the Haram. In this case, the original Platform was nearly square, each side being about 1,000 feet long. The statements of Josephus and of *Middoth*, accordingly, are not so inappropriate to the Haram area as at first sight they appear.

Josephus states that the inclosing wall was entirely the work of

Herod. With this correspond the facts that the foundations are all in one line, and that the great drafted masonry is all of one class from the foundation upward. Only in the south wall west of the Double Gate and in the west wall south of the Maghârîbe Gate are stones with rustic bosses. These were designed to be covered by filling in the foundations, so that their presence does not indicate a different period of construction. Modern authorities are agreed that the huge drafted stones that form the lower courses of the Haram wall belong to the Herodian period. They must be older than the Moslem era, because they were seen and described by numerous pilgrims before 530 A. D., and because the Arabs were incapable of executing such a gigantic architectural enterprise. They cannot be more ancient than the time of Herod, because they intersect the old city aqueduct on the southwest. They are of the same general type as the stones in the so-called Tower of David, which is generally admitted to have been one of the towers of Herod's palace, and they disclose the same kind of marginal drafting and fine adz dressing that is seen in the remains of the Tyropoeon Bridge, which was certainly the work of Herod. The Phœnician letters discovered on the stones near the southeast corner were formerly supposed to prove that this wall was the work of Solomon, but it is now recognized that they may have been written in the Herodian period quite as well as in the Solomonic.

2. *The Citadel of Antonia*.—This is described by Josephus in *War*, v, 4:2; v, 5:8, as follows:

Those parts that stood northward of the Temple, being joined to the hill, made it considerably larger, and occasioned that fourth hill, which is called Bezetha, to be inhabited also. It lies over against the Tower of Antonia, but is divided from it by a deep valley, which was dug on purpose, in order to hinder the foundations of Antonia from joining this hill, and thereby affording an opportunity for getting to it with ease, and lessening its superior elevation, for which reason also that depth of the ditch increased the elevation of the towers. . . . Now, as to the Tower of Antonia, it was situated at the corner of two cloisters of the court of the Temple, that on the west, and that on the north: it was erected upon a rock fifty cubits in height, and was on a great precipice: it was the work of King Herod. . . . From thence the whole Temple might be viewed: but on the corner, where it joined the two cloisters of the Temple, it had passages down to them both, through which on the Jewish festivals, the guard with arms (for there always lay in this tower a Roman legion) went several ways

among the cloisters, in order to watch the people, that they might not there attempt to make any innovations, for the Temple was a fortress that guarded the city, as was Antonia a guard to the Temple; and in that tower were the guards of those three. There was also a special fortress belonging to the Upper City, which was Herod's palace; but as for the hill Bezetha, it was divided from Antonia, as we have already told you; and as that hill on which the Tower of Antonia stood was the highest of these three, so did it adjoin to the New City, and was the only place that hindered the sight of the Temple on the north.

The Castle of Antonia is also referred to in the following passages: *Ant.*, xiii, 16:5; xv, 11:4; xv, 11:7; xviii, 4:3; xx, 1:1; xx, 5:3;



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SITE OF THE CASTLE OF ANTONIA

War, i, 5:4; i, 21:1; ii, 15:5; ii, 15:6; ii, 16:5; v, 7:3; v, 9:2; vi, 1:7; vi, 1:8; vi, 2:5; vi, 4:4.

In *War*, v, 5:2, it is stated that the Outer Court of the Temple measured six stadia, including the Tower of Antonia. The court proper, as we have just seen, was only four stadia square; consequently the Tower must have stood one stadium north of the Temple and have been connected with it by a passage guarded on both sides with walls. To this passage Josephus alludes in *War*, v, 5:8:

"On the corner where it joined the two cloisters of the Temple, it had passages down to them both." This portico leading from the Temple to the Castle of Antonia is apparently referred to in Acts 21:40 as the place from which Paul made his defense to the people.

These descriptions of Antonia correspond precisely with the present site of the Turkish barracks at the northwest corner of the Haram area. This is about a stadium distant from the north edge of the inner platform which, as we have seen, corresponds with the north line of the court of Herod's Temple. It lies upon a rocky cliff 50 cubits in height; it overlooks the Temple and hinders the view from the north. The researches of the Palestine Exploration Fund have shown that it is separated by a deep artificial ditch from the northeast quarter of the modern city, which corresponds with the Bezetha quarter or New City of Josephus. There is general agreement, therefore, that in the Barrack Rock we see the site of the Castle of Antonia.

3. *The city walls.*—According to *War*, v, 4:2, the first, or inner, wall of the city on the north began at the tower called Hippicus, extended as far as the Xystus, and then, joining the Council-House, ended at the west cloister of the Temple. This statement, in connection with the natural features of the ground, shows that the wall must have joined the Temple about midway in its western side. At this point traces are still to be seen of the causeway on which the wall crossed the Tyropoeon Valley at the so-called Wilson's Arch, 600 feet from the southwest corner of the Haram. Wilson's Arch is itself a late construction, but beneath it are remains of older arches of the Herodian period.

In *War*, v, 4:2, Josephus states that the south wall of the city joined the Temple at the east cloister. The excavations of Warren have disclosed a massive wall running in a southwesterly direction from the southeast corner of the Haram. This wall joins the Haram with a straight joint, which shows that the two were not built at the same time. This corresponds with the fact that the south wall was older than the constructions of Herod. This wall is $14\frac{1}{2}$ feet thick and 75 feet in height. It is buried under rubbish that rises four feet above its top.

4. *The gates.*—In regard to the gates that gave access to the Temple, Josephus says:

Now in the western quarter of the inclosure there were four gates; the first led to the King's Palace by a viaduct over the intermediate valley; two more led to the suburbs of the city; and the last led to the other city, descending into the valley by a great number of steps, and thence up again by the ascent. (*Ant.*, xv, 11:5.)

The first of the gates thus described led to a bridge across the



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ROBINSON'S ARCH

Tyropoeon Valley to the Upper City. This was built originally by the Hasmonean kings. According to *Ant.*, xiv, 4:2; *War*, i, 7:2, Aristobulus broke it down in order to prevent Pompey's attacking the Temple. It was subsequently rebuilt by Herod (cf. *War*, vi, 8:1; 6:2). Remains of it are still to be seen in Robinson's Arch, which protrudes from the eastern wall of the Haram at a distance of 38 feet and 9 inches from the southwest corner. A pier of this bridge and fallen stones were discovered in the excavations of Warren, so

that there is no doubt in regard to the character of the structure. The arch is 50 feet in breadth and has a span of 50 feet. The breadth plus its distance from the southwest corner corresponds closely with the breadth of the Royal Cloister at the south end of the Temple. It appears, accordingly, that this bridge was designed as an approach to the Cloister. The excavations of Warren disclosed a pavement beneath this bridge, and below this pavement was found an arch-stone of an older bridge. This must have been the one that was destroyed by the Jews in anticipation of Pompey's attack in 63 B. C. When the bridge was rebuilt by Herod in 19 B. C., a pavement was laid over the remains of the older structure, and upon this the new edifice was erected. As previously remarked, the masonry is identical with the inclosing wall of the Haram.

The second western gate, according to Josephus, led by a stairway to the bottom of the valley. This gate must have been near the southwest corner on account of the necessity of a staircase to descend to the bottom of the valley. Below the modern Bab el-Maghâribe remains of an older gate, known as Barclay's Gate, have been discovered. This is 270 feet from the southwest corner, and is apparently the second of the western gates named by Josephus. Within this gate there must be steps leading up to the top of the Platform, but these have been walled up by the Moslems and are inaccessible.

The two other gates on the west that Josephus mentions as leading to the commercial suburb must have lain north of the old first city-wall that joined the Temple in the middle of its western side. These are found in the Gate of the Chain and the Gate of the Bath, below which are the remains of ancient entrances. *Middoth*, i, 3, names only one gate, Kipinus, on the west. Which of the four mentioned by Josephus is intended is uncertain.

In regard to the gates on the south Josephus states merely the fact that there were such gates. *Middoth*, i, 3, states that there were two of them, and calls them the two gates of Huldah. These correspond with the Double and the Triple Gates which are still to be seen in the southern wall of the Haram area. The Double Gate lies 350 feet from the southwest angle; the Triple Gate lies 600 feet from that angle. Both of these are now walled up with late Arab masonry, but the original outline of the arches is still traceable.

From the Double Gate a double tunnel, accessible from the Mosque of Aḳṣa, leads up to the top of the Platform. The vaulting in these tunnels belongs to the time of Justinian, but the lower masonry probably goes back to the time of Herod. These passage-ways give us an excellent idea of how the people came up from the lower levels, through the foundations of the Platform, to the Temple Court on the summit.

One eastern gate, called the Gate of Shushan, is mentioned in



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THE TRIPLE GATE

Middoth, i, 3. It corresponds with the modern Golden Gate, which is the only gate in the eastern wall of the Ḥaram. This gate was rebuilt by Justinian, and no Herodian masonry is at present visible; but it probably stands upon the site of the ancient entrance. This gate also has been built up by the Moslems, so that it is now inaccessible.

5. *The Balustrade*.—The Inner Court of the Temple was separated from the Outer Court by a Balustrade, in regard to which Josephus speaks as follows:

Thus was the first inclosure, in the midst of which, and not far from it, was the second, reached by a few steps; this was encompassed by a stone wall for a partition, with an inscription which forbade any foreigner to go in under pain of death. (*Ant.* xv, 11:5.)

When one went through this [first court], into the second [court of the Temple], there was a partition made of stone all around, whose height was three cubits; its construction was very elegant; upon it stood pillars at equal distances from one another, declaring the law of purity, some in Greek, and some in Roman letters, that no foreigner should go within that sanctuary. (*War*, v, 5:2.)

Titus . . . reproached John and his party and said to them: "Have not you, vile wretches, put up this partition-wall before your sanctuary? Have not you put up the pillars thereto belonging, at due distances, and on them engraved in Greek, and in our own letters, this prohibition, That no foreigner should go beyond that wall? Have we not given you leave to kill one who goes beyond it, though he be a Roman?" (*War*, vi, 2:4.)

This inclosure is also alluded to in Acts 2:28 ff., where the Jews seek to kill Paul because they suppose that he has brought Trophimus the Ephesian into the inner area. *Middoth*, ii, 3, speaks of this Balustrade as follows:

Inside [of the Mountain of the House] was a reticulated wall ten hand-breadths high, and in it were thirteen breaches broken down by the Greek Kings. The (Jews) restored and fenced them and decreed before them thirteen acts of obeisance.

In 1871 Clermont-Ganneau discovered one of the Greek inscriptions of which Josephus speaks, warning gentiles from passing within the barrier. This reads as follows:

No stranger is to enter within the balustrade and embankment round the sacred place. Whoever is caught will be answerable for his death which will ensue.

The correspondence of the language of this inscription with the statement of Josephus is a striking confirmation of the accuracy of the Jewish historian's observation.

6. *The Inner Court.*—Within the Balustrade was the Inner Court, or Sanctuary, into which only Israelites might enter. Josephus (*War*, v, 5:2) describes it as follows:

That second court of the Temple was called the Sanctuary, and was ascended to by fourteen steps from the first court. This court was four-square, and had a wall about it peculiar to itself. . . . Beyond these fourteen steps there was the distance of ten cubits to the wall: this was all level; hence there were other stairs, each of five steps apiece, that led to the gates.

Middoth, ii, 3, speaks of it thus:

Inside of it was the *Hēl* ten cubits broad and twelve steps were there. The height of each step was one-half cubit and the breadth one-half cubit. All the steps were in height one-half cubit and in breadth one-half cubit, except those of the porch.

In regard to the location of the Inner Court with reference to the Outer Court, *Middoth*, ii, 1, states that "the larger space was on the south, the second on the east, the third on the north, and the least westward." This shows that the Inner Court must have lain in the same position as the southern end of the present Inner Platform of the *Haram*. This Inner Platform rises to a height of several feet above the general level of the *Haram* area, and its shape is so peculiar in its departure from rectangularity that it is more likely to be a survival of an ancient construction than a creation of the Arab builders. According to *Middoth*, the Court of the Women was 135 cubits long, and the Court of the Priests 187 cubits long, making together the sum of 322 cubits. Between the Court of the Women and the Court of the Priests lay the Court of Israel. The length of this, unfortunately, is not given. (The statement in regard to the "place of the treading of the feet of Israel" does not apply to this court.) The present Inner Platform is about 300 cubits in the line from east to west through the middle. This leaves no room for the Court of Israel on the present Inner Platform, unless we suppose that the Court of the Women lay on the lower level east of the present Inner Platform. On this hypothesis the Court of Israel and Court of the Priests will coincide with the southern half of the raised Inner Platform of the *Haram*.

7. *The Altar*.—Josephus and *Middoth* both place the Temple at the west end of the Inner Court, with the Court of the Priests and the Court of Israel and the Court of the Women to the eastward (cf. *War*, ii, 17:3). The Temple, accordingly, must have stood close to the western edge of the present Inner Platform of the *Haram*. In front of the Temple in the Court of the Priests stood the Altar of Burnt Offering (cf. *Ant.*, xv, 11:5). In *War*, v, 5:6, the Altar is thus described:

Before this temple stood the Altar, fifteen cubits high, and equal both in length and breadth; each of which dimensions was fifty cubits. The figure it

was built in was a square, and it had corners like horns; and the ascent to it from the south sloped backward gently. It was formed without any iron tool, nor did any such iron tool so much as touch it at any time.

The description of the Altar in *Middoth*, iii, 1 3, is as follows:

The Altar was thirty-two cubits square. . . . And in the southwestern corner were two holes as two thin nostrils that the blood poured upon the western and southern foundations should run into them; and it commingled in a canal and flowed out into the Kidron. . . . Below in the pavement in the same



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THE INNER PLATFORM OF THE HARAM

corner there was a place a cubit square with a marble tablet and a ring fastened in it. Through it they descended to the sewer and cleansed it.

The Temple was 100 cubits long (cf. *Ant.*, xv, 11:3; *Middoth*, iv, 6); and since the Altar of Burnt Offering stood in front of it to the east, it must correspond with the Şakhra, or "rock," that lies under the center of the dome of the Noble Sanctuary. Sacred spots are cherished in the Orient with remarkable persistency. The Altar must have been the first structure reared on the top of the

hill, and the memory of its location has lasted down to our own day and is the explanation of the sanctity of the Şakhra. This rock is the original summit of the hill, which appears here only in the entire Haram area. The highest point would be the one naturally selected at the outset for the placing of the Altar. Moreover, the description of the channels and receptacles for blood under the Altar corresponds with the caves and tunnels under the modern Şakhra. This view is more probable than that of Moslem tradition, followed by Conder and some other authorities, which identifies the Şakhra with the site of the Holy of Holies.

8. *The cisterns and drains.*—Josephus and *Middoth* speak of a large number of cisterns and channels for water that existed beneath the Temple area. These correspond with the cisterns and channels that exist beneath the modern Haram area, but a precise identification of the particular names is at present impossible.

9. Jerome in his commentary on Isa. 2:8, and on Matt. 24:15, states that Hadrian set up a statue of Jupiter on the site of the Temple. This statue was seen by the Bordeaux Pilgrim in 333 A. D. The inscription that stood originally on its base is still to be seen on a large stone built upside down into the wall near the Double Gate.

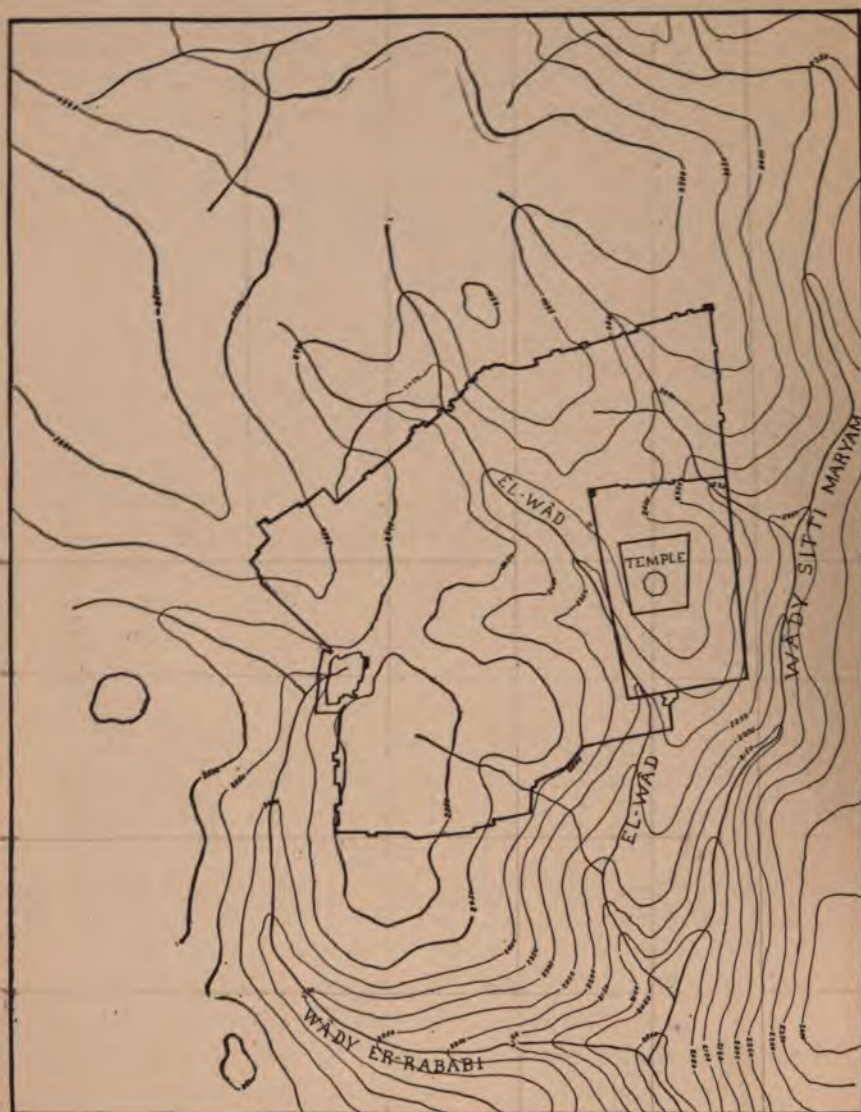
On the basis of these facts it is indisputable that the Haram area corresponds with the site of the Temple of Solomon, of Zerubbabel, and of Herod. On this point there is agreement among all writers, Jewish, Christian, and Mohammedan, Protestant and Catholic, critical and uncritical. It is the only point in the topography of ancient Jerusalem in regard to which there is universal agreement. This, accordingly, we must make our point of departure in our investigation of the city.

CHAPTER II

THE VALLEYS OF ANCIENT JERUSALEM

Jerusalem lies on a plateau between two deep gorges. The principal one of these starts north of the city in an insignificant depression known as Wâdy el-Jôz, or "Valley of the Walnuts." In its upper reaches this lies about 2,500 feet above the sea. It circles around at some distance from the northeast corner of the city and then falls rapidly in a southwesterly direction, continually approaching the eastern wall. At a point opposite the southeast corner of the city, it lies 200 feet below its source. Between this point and its junction with the other main valley it falls 300 feet more. In this portion of its course it is known as Wâdy Sitti Maryam, or "Valley of the Lady Mary," being so named from the Virgin's Fountain that lies in its midst. Below its junction with the other main valley it is known as Wâdy en-Nâr, or "Valley of Fire." This falls rapidly between lofty cliffs to the Dead Sea, 1,300 feet below sea-level.

The Wâdy Sitti Maryam has very precipitous sides. At all points its banks are so steep that they render the city impregnable on its eastern side. The cliffs are full of rock-hewn tombs, which show that once there existed here an important ancient city. The commanding sepulchral monuments known as the Tomb of Absalom, the Tomb of James, and the Tomb of Zechariah, near the southeast corner of the Haram, or Mosque area, are conspicuous landmarks. The view of Jerusalem from the lower end of this valley, looking up toward the Mosque on the left and the village of Silwân on the right, is very imposing. This valley is dry, except during the rainy months when a considerable stream flows through it. The water of the Virgin's Fountain, which must formerly have entered it, is now diverted through the Siloam tunnel. The result is that the Wâdy has a drier appearance at present than it must have had in ancient times.



THE VALLEYS OF JERUSALEM

The second main valley of Jerusalem begins as a slight depression, 500 feet above the sea, west of the modern city, and runs in a southeasterly direction to a point near the Citadel, where it is joined by another small depression that comes from the Jaffa Gate; it then descends rapidly close to the west wall of the city. At a point opposite the southwest corner it is 2,300 feet above the sea, and at its junction with the Wâdy Sitti Maryam it is 2,000 feet above the sea. In its lower course south of the city it runs almost due east.



Photograph by L. B. Paton

WÂDY SITTI MARYAM

This valley is known at present as Wâdy er-Rabâbi, or "Fiddle Valley." Like the Wâdy Sitti Maryam, it has very precipitous sides, and protects the city on the west and the south. The cliffs on its western and southern sides are full of ancient rock-hewn tombs. This valley contains no springs, and, therefore, is dry throughout the year except after an occasional hard rain. It is a smaller depression than Wâdy Sitti Maryam, and therefore is properly regarded as a branch of that valley.

The third in importance of the valleys of Jerusalem is the one which begins in the plain north of the Damascus Gate and runs in a southeasterly direction through the heart of the modern city to a point near the southwest angle of the Ḥaram area. Here it is joined by a branch that comes from the Jaffa Gate. It then descends in a southwesterly direction to the Pool of Siloam. Near this it is joined by another small branch that comes from the southwest corner of the city. It then runs in a southeasterly direction until it



Photograph by L. B. Paton

WÂDY ER-RABÂBI

joins the Wâdy Sitti Maryam. This valley is known at present as El-Wâd, or "The Valley." It is the second main tributary of the Wâdy Sitti Maryam and its continuation the Wâdy en-Nâr.

A fourth valley begins in the plain north of the city midway between Wâdy el-Jôz and El-Wâd, and runs in a southeasterly direction across the northeast corner of the city, joining Wâdy Sitti Maryam at a point east of the Ḥaram area. This has no distinctive modern name. The question now arises: With which of these valleys are the valleys mentioned in the Old Testament to be identified?

1. *The Kidron*.—This is commonly known as the *naḥal*, or “watercourse” (in our version translated “brook”). Frequently the name Kidron is omitted, and the valley is described simply as the *naḥal*. In Hebrew this term describes a ravine in which water commonly runs. It is not applied to gorges that are filled only in the rainy season. The name, consequently, suggests that we are to identify the Kidron with the Wâdy Sitti Maryam, since this is the only one of the valleys of Jerusalem that has a perennial flow.



Photograph by L. B. Paton

MOUTH OF THE VALLEY EL-WÂD

This identification is confirmed by all the allusions in the Bible. In II Sam. 15:23 we are told that, when David was compelled by Absalom to flee from Jerusalem to the land east of the Jordan, “he passed over the brook Kidron, and all the people passed over toward the way of the wilderness.” In fleeing eastward from Jerusalem, the first valley that one would cross would be the Wâdy Sitti Maryam. The word of Solomon to Shimei in I Kings 2:37, “On the day thou goest out, and passest over the brook Kidron, know thou for certain

that thou shalt surely die: thy blood shall be upon thine own head," also indicates the valley east of the city, since Shimei would naturally pass this way in going to his home (cf. II Sam. 16:5). In I Kings 15:13=II Chron. 15:16 we read: "And also Maacah, the mother of Asa the king, he removed her from being queen, because she had made an abominable image for an Asherah; and Asa cut down her image, and made dust of it, and burnt it at the brook Kidron." The image was evidently set up in the Temple, and if Asa burned it at the brook Kidron, this must have been the Wâdy Sitti Maryam, which runs close to the site of the Temple. In II Kings 23:4, 6, 12, we are told that, when Josiah cleansed the Temple of idolatrous abominations, "he burned them at the brook Kidron and cast the ashes into the brook." This statement implies that the Kidron lay near to the Temple, and the mention of the "brook" favors the identification with the Wâdy Sitti Maryam. In Jer. 31:40 we read: "All the fields unto the brook Kidron, unto the corner of the Horse Gate toward the east shall be holy unto the Lord." The Horse Gate is known to have been an opening in the east wall of the Temple; consequently the brook Kidron, which is here associated with it, must be identical with the Wâdy Sitti Maryam. II Chron. 29:16 states that idolatrous objects found in the Temple were cast into the brook Kidron. II Chron. 32:4 says that Hezekiah "gathered much people together, and they stopped all the fountains, and the brook that flowed through the midst of the land, saying, Why should the kings of Assyria come and find much water?" The statement that the "brook" contained "much water" is applicable only to the Wâdy Sitti Maryam, and the statement that it "flowed through the midst of the land" is also applicable only to this valley. Wâdy er-Rabâbi, as we shall see presently, was the boundary line between the tribes of Judah and Benjamin, and therefore could not be spoken of as "in the midst of the land." El-Wâd was in the midst of the city, and, besides, there is no evidence that it was a running stream in Old Testament times. In Neh. 2:15 Nehemiah says: "Then went I up in the night by the brook and viewed the wall; and I turned back and entered by the Valley Gate, and so returned." On his night ride Nehemiah set out from a point near the southwest corner of the present city and descended the Wâdy er-Rabâbi until

he came to the Pool of Siloam. Thence he "went up by the brook and viewed the wall." This "brook" can only have been the Wâdy Sitti Maryam close to the east wall of the city. If he had gone up through El-Wâd, he would have been in the heart of the city and could not have viewed the wall. The fact that he returned by the Valley Gate, whence he set out, shows that he made a complete circuit of the city.

In John 18:1 we are told that Jesus "went forth with his disciples over the brook Kidron where there was a garden." The location of the Garden of Gethsemane at some point on the west slope of the mount of Olives east of Jerusalem is undisputed. Consequently the crossing of the brook Kidron to reach this garden is proof that the Kidron is to be identified with the Wâdy Sitti Maryam.

Josephus also identifies the Kidron with this valley. In *War*, v, 2:3, he says:

These legions had orders to encamp at the distance of six furlongs from Jerusalem, at the mount called the Mount of Olives, which lies over against the city on the east side, and is parted from it by a deep valley, interposed between them, which is named Kidron.

In *War*, v, 6:1, he says:

John held the Temple and also the parts thereto adjoining for a great way, as also Ophel, and the valley called the Valley of Kidron.

In *War*, v, 12:2, he says:

Titus began the wall from the Camp of the Assyrians, where his own camp was pitched, and drew it down to the lower parts of the New City: thence it went along the valley of Kidron to the Mount of Olives; it then bent toward the south, and encompassed the mountain as far as the rock called Peristereon.

In vi, 3:2, he says:

The next day the Romans burnt down the northern cloister entirely as far as the east cloister, whose common angle joined to the valley that was called Kidron, and was built over it; on which account the depth was frightful.

From these statements it is certain that he identified the Kidron with the deep gorge east of the Temple.

It appears, accordingly, that there is an unbroken line of evidence from the earliest times down to the New Testament period identifying the brook Kidron with the ravine east of the Mosque of Omar that

is now known as the Wâdy Sitti Maryam. This is admitted by practically all modern topographers.

2. The valley named most frequently in the Old Testament after the Kidron is the Valley of Hinnom, or Valley of the Son (Sons) of Hinnom. In the Old Testament this is always called the *gai*, or "valley," in distinction from the *nahal*, or "brook," of Kidron. A *gai* is a broad, open valley, not necessarily traversed by a running stream. This name in itself suggests that the Hinnom is to be identified with the Wâdy er-Rabâbi, which is more open than Wâdy Sitti Maryam and has no stream flowing through it. All the Old Testament references to the Hinnom favor this identification.

In Josh. 15:8 we read:

And the border went up by the valley of the son of Hinnom unto the cliff of the Jebusite southward (the same is Jerusalem): and the border went up to the top of the mountain that lieth before the valley of Hinnom westward, which is at the uttermost part of the vale of Rephaim northward.

In Josh. 18:16 the same description is given in a reverse order:

And the border went down to the uttermost part of the mountain that lieth before the valley of the son of Hinnom, to the cliff of the Jebusite southward and went down to Enrogel.

From these passages it appears that the Valley of Hinnom was the boundary line between the tribes of Judah and Benjamin, that it ran south of a cliff known as the Cliff of the Jebusites, and that it came out at a spring known as Enrogel. The small valley El-Wâd, which runs north and south, is not a natural line between two tribes; while the deep Wâdy er-Rabâbi, which runs east and west, is a natural boundary. By this division the spring Bîr Eiyûb was the property of two tribes—a frequent arrangement in ancient times. It is well known that the city of Jerusalem lay in the tribe of Benjamin. Thus, in Jer. 6:1 we read: "Flee for safety, ye children of Benjamin, out of the midst of Jerusalem." The frequent combination "Judah and Jerusalem" is due to the fact that Jerusalem did not lie in the tribe of Judah. The rabbinical tradition that the boundary line between Judah and Benjamin ran through the heart of the city is unsupported by Old Testament evidence. Jerusalem as early as pre-exilic times probably occupied an area as large as the modern city; consequently, if it lay in the tribe of Benjamin,

the Valley of Hinnom cannot have been El-Wâd, in the heart of the city, but must have been Wâdy er-Rabâbi, on the west and south. The Cliff of the Jebusites is apparently some part of the ancient stronghold of the Jebusites (cf. II Sam. 5:6 f.); and if the Valley of Hinnom ran south of this cliff, it can only be the Wâdy er-Rabâbi, since El-Wâd does not lie south of any cliff that formed part of the ancient city. Moreover, El-Wâd does not run down to any spring. Siloam, where it ends, is an artificial pool to which water was brought by a conduit in Hezekiah's time from the Virgin's Fountain. The only valley, apart from the Kidron, that leads to a fountain is Wâdy er-Rabâbi, which comes out at the spring of Bîr Eiyûb.

There are frequent allusions in the Old Testament to the Valley of Hinnom as the scene of idolatrous rites in which children were sacrificed to the god Molech (cf. II Kings 23:10; Jer. 2:23; 7:31 f; 19:2, 6; 32:35); but none of these serve to fix the location of the valley. If, as is probable, El-Wâd lay in the heart of the ancient city, as of the modern city, it is not so likely that shrines would be set up there as in the Wâdy er-Rabâbi, which was outside of the city. Late Jewish abhorrence of the idolatry practiced in the Valley of Hinnom made the name Ge-Hinnom = Gehenna a synonym for Hell.

In Neh. 2:13, Nehemiah goes out by the Valley Gate. This can only have been a gate opening upon the "Valley" of Hinnom. The description of his ride down the valley and the gates that he passed makes it impossible to believe that he was riding down El-Wâd. Remains of three ancient gates have been found by Bliss along the southern course of the Wâdy er-Rabâbi which correspond with the Valley Gate, the Dung Gate, and the Fountain Gate of Neh. 2:13 f. If this identification be accepted, it proves that the *gai* down which Nehemiah rode was not El-Wâd, but Wâdy er-Rabâbi.

It may be observed also that the Arabian geographer Idrisi (1154 A. D.) applies the name Gehennam—that is, Ge-Hinnom, or "Valley of Hinnom"—to Wâdy er-Rabâbi. In 1838 the American traveler Robinson found this name still attached to it. The identification of Hinnom with Wâdy er-Rabâbi is now accepted by the majority of topographers. W. Robertson Smith first suggested an identification with El-Wâd, and his authority has led a few to adopt this view;



CLIFF IN JERUSALEM ON WEST SIDE OF TYROPOFON VALLEY

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Warren has proposed an identification with the Kidron, but stands alone in this theory.

A few other minor valleys near Jerusalem are mentioned in the Old Testament. The Valley of Rephaim (Josh. 15:8; 18:16) lay on the other side of the hill, west of the Valley of Hinnom, and formed part of the boundary line between Judah and Benjamin. It is doubtless to be identified with the modern Wâdy el-Werd, through which the railway now runs from Jaffa to Jerusalem. Its upper end, near the present Jerusalem railway station, is not far from the upper end of Wâdy er-Rabâbi, so that the two valleys together form a long continuous boundary line. The "valley of the dead bodies and of the ashes" mentioned in Jer. 31:40 is of unknown location. The Valley of Jehoshaphat ("Yahweh judges"), mentioned in Joel 3:12, is probably a place invented as a scene for the final judgment. Its identification with Wâdy Sitti Maryam is not found before the fourth century of the Christian era, and is destitute of authority.

3. The valley called the Tyropoeon is first mentioned by Josephus in *War*, v, 4:1. He says:

Now the Valley of the Tyropoeon, as it was called, was that which we told you before separated the hill of the Upper City from that of the Lower. It extended as far as Siloam; for that is the name of a fountain which has sweet water in it and this in great plenty also.

Since this valley ran through the heart of the city, and since it came out at the Pool of Siloam, there is no question that it is to be identified with some part of the modern El-Wâd. The only dispute is as to which of the branches of El-Wâd is meant.

The common view is that the main branch, which starts north of the Damascus Gate, runs under the Damascus Gate, and follows the modern street El-Wâd west of the Hâram area, is the Tyropoeon of Josephus. This view is favored by the fact that this is the principal valley. In spite of its being filled with sixty feet of débris, the depression is still clearly visible, and if one stands upon the top of the Damascus gate and looks southward, the city evidently lies upon two hills divided by this depression. The people of modern Jerusalem apply to it the name El-Wâd, or "the valley," and they have no names for the smaller lateral valleys that come in from the Jaffa Gate and from the southwest quarter of the city. Ideas are very persistent in the

Orient. If the people of ancient Jerusalem had traced the city valley in a different way, their usage would doubtless have been reflected in the modern conception. It is not too much to say that the northern branch extending from the Damascus Gate is the only valley that one would naturally think of as the Tyropoeon, and that other identifications are due, not to anything in Josephus' description, but rather to traditional notions concerning the hills of Jerusalem.

Robinson first suggested that the Tyropoeon is to be identified with the west branch of the city valley—the one that starts near the Jaffa gate and runs eastward until it joins El-Wâd. This valley corresponds with the line of the present David Street. It is now so filled with rubbish that its existence is hardly apparent, but borings show that in ancient times it must have been considerably deeper. Nevertheless, even then it must have been an inconsiderable depression in comparison with the one that starts north of the Damascus Gate, and it is not likely that it was ever so important as to have had a name of its own. Robinson himself confessed that the northern arm at first impressed him as the real Tyropoeon, and that it was only considerations in regard to the location of Zion and Akra that forced him to make a different identification. These considerations have subsequently shown themselves to be erroneous, so that no reason now exists for identifying the Tyropoeon with the west branch of the city valley (see p. 53).

A third theory, first presented by Tobler and since taken up by Mommert, is that the Tyropoeon is the little valley which starts in the center of the southwest corner of the city and runs in a southeasterly direction until it joins El-Wâd south of the city wall. This view is open to all the objections that have been raised against Robinson's theory. This valley is an insignificant branch of the main gorge that runs through the heart of the city. It bears no name in modern times, and it is unlikely that Josephus would have singled it out as a landmark around which to group the hills of Jerusalem (see p. 55).

CHAPTER III

THE SPRINGS AND POOLS OF ANCIENT JERUSALEM

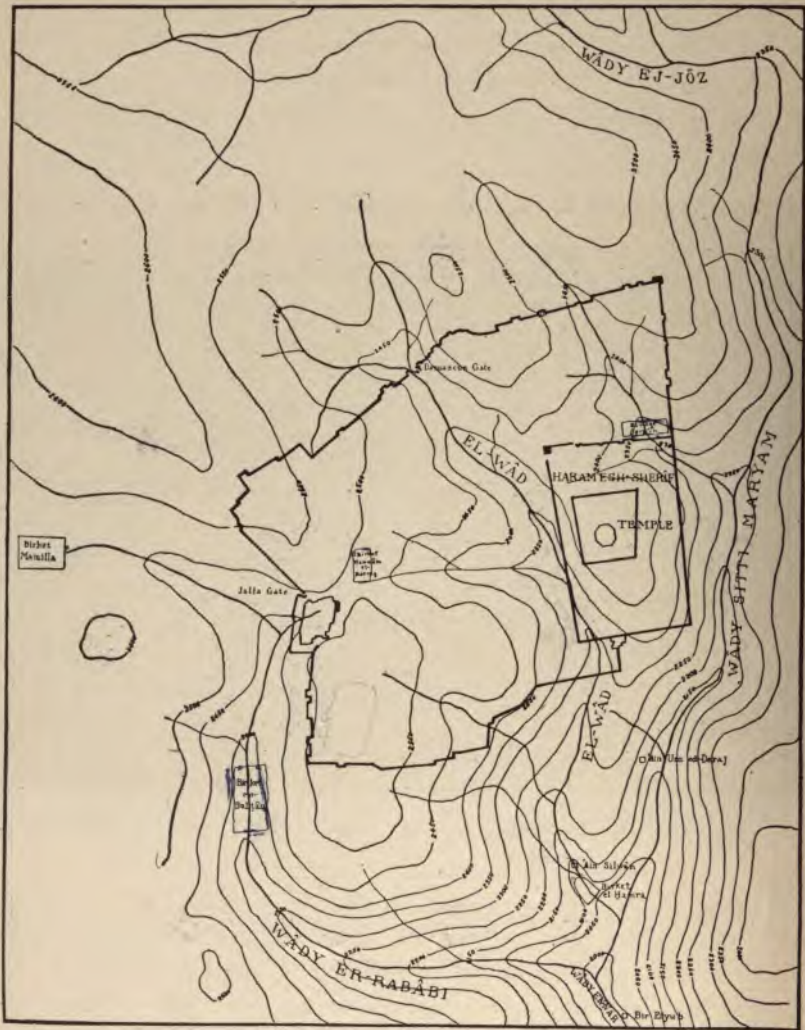
Closely connected with the question of the valleys of Jerusalem is the question of the springs and pools. There are only two real



Photograph by Bonfils

THE VIRGIN'S FOUNTAIN

springs in the neighborhood of the city. The first of these is 'Ain Um ed-Derej, "Spring of the Mother of Steps," as it is called by the Moslems; or 'Ain Sitti Maryam, "Spring of the Lady Mary," as it is called by the Christians. This lies on the west side of the Wâdy Sitti Maryam, a short distance from the southeast corner of the modern city wall. At present the ground is so filled up with rubbish that the spring itself can be reached only by descending a flight



THE SPRINGS AND POOLS OF JERUSALEM

steps. The rock-cut tunnel which leads from it to Siloam draws off the surplus water, so that now it never overflows. In ancient times, however, before the tunnel was constructed, it must have overflowed into the adjacent valley. Owing to some siphon-like formation of the caverns through which the water comes, this spring is intermittent, and this characteristic causes it to be regarded with superstitious reverence.



Photograph by L. B. Paton

JOB'S WELL

The second spring is Bîr-Eiyûb, or "Job's Well." This lies in the Wâdy en-Nâr, a short distance below the junction of the Wâdy Sitti Maryam and the Wâdy er-Rabâbi. A deep accumulation of rubbish has buried it far beneath the present level of the ground, so that it seems more like a well than a fountain. But in the rainy season it still overflows, and in ancient times it probably ran at all seasons of the year.

Job's Well and the Virgin's Fountain are the only places in modern Jerusalem to which the name "spring" can p

applied. All other sources of water are reservoirs or cisterns. There is no reason to suppose that the conditions were different in ancient times; so that whatever springs are mentioned in the Old Testament will have to be identified with one or other of these two.

‘Ain Silwân lies at the junction of the middle valley, El-Wâd, with Wâdy Sitti Maryam. In spite of its name, it is not a true spring, since it is fed by the tunnel from the Virgin’s Fountain. In the



Photograph by L. B. Paton

‘AIN SILWÂN

Jerusalem Volume of the Palestine Exploration Fund (p. 345) it is thus described:

The present pool consists of modern masonry, measuring 55 feet north and south, by 18 feet east and west, and having its bottom at a level 2,086 feet above the Mediterranean. The average depth is 20 feet, and on the north an archway 5 feet wide appears, leading to a small vault 12 feet long, in which is a descent from the level of the top of the pool to the level of the channel supplying it. This vault is modern, and the old mouth of the rock-cut channel has been stopped up on the east side of the present pool, the water now being admitted farther west under the vault. The recent explorations of Dr. Guthe prove that the pool

was originally much larger and cut in rock. On the east it probably extended to the present rocky scarp, in which a channel is now cut connecting with the lower pool, formed by a strong masonry dam at the mouth of the Tyropoeon where it opens into the Kidron valley. The date of the masonry of this dam, which is about a hundred yards southeast of the pool, is unknown; but it is extremely massive, and probably of great antiquity.

The lower pool is now known as Birket el-Ḥamra, "the Red Pool."



Photograph by L. B. Paton

BIRKET EL-ḤAMRA

It has lately been fenced with a high wall for use as a garden, and the water of the upper pool no longer flows into it.

Two large pools are formed by dams built across the Wādy er-Rabâbi, or Hinnom Valley. The lower one, which lies opposite to the southwest corner of the modern city wall, is 550 feet long by 220 feet broad. It is hewn out of the solid rock that forms the bottom of the valley, and the dam at the southern end is so massive that it is traversed by the carriage road that goes from Jerusalem to the railway station and to Bethlehem. It is now known as Birket es-Sultân, or "the Sultan's Pool." The other pool, Birket Mamilla, lies at the

head of the Wâdy er-Rabâbi in the midst of a Moslem cemetery. It is 290 feet long by 190 feet broad. It is partly hewn out of the rock and partly inclosed with walls of masonry. From it a conduit leads through the depression south of the Jaffa Gate to the so-called Patriarch's Pool in the heart of the city. There is no trace of springs in the vicinity of either of these pools, and they are supplied only by the rain-water which is gathered into them from the slopes of the valleys.



Photograph by L. B. Paton

BIRKET ES-SULTÂN

Traditionally they are identified with Upper and Lower Gihon of the Old Testament.

Birket Hammâm el-Baṭraq, or "the Pool of the Patriarch's Bath," lies a short distance east of the Jaffa Gate in the corner formed by the junction of David Street and Christian Street. It is 240 feet long by 140 feet broad. In winter it is filled with rain-water gathered in the Birket Mamilla and brought down thence through the conduit, but in summer only a little foul-smelling and dirty water remains that is a choice breeding-ground for the malarial mosquito. The

traditional Christian name for this reservoir is "the Pool of Hezekiah."

A sixth main pool lies north of the Haram inclosure and is known as Birket Isra'îl, or "the Pool of Israel." It lies in the bed of the west arm of the Kidron valley that traverses the northeast quarter of the city, at a depth of 68 feet below the level of the top of the Haram platform. It measures 360 feet by 130. Its traditional Christian



Photograph by Bonfils

BIRKET MAMILLA

name is "the Pool of Bethesda." The other pools of Jerusalem are scarcely more than cisterns and do not need to be enumerated here.

It remains now to determine with which of these springs and pools the springs and pools of ancient Jerusalem are to be identified.

1. *En-Rogel*.—Two springs near Jerusalem are mentioned in the Old Testament, En-Rogel and the Gihon. These cannot have been different names for the same place, because in I Kings, chap. 1, the coronation of Adonijah takes place at En-Rogel, while that of Solomon is going on at Gihon. The name En-Rogel has been inter-

preted as meaning "the Well of the Spy" or the "Fuller's Well;" but these explanations are uncertain and, therefore, throw no light upon its location. According to Josh. 15:7; 18:16, the border-line between Judah and Benjamin went down the Valley of Hinnom as far as En-Rogel, whence it passed across the mountain eastward to En-Shemesh—that is, the "Apostles' Fountain" upon the road to Jericho. If the Hinnom be identified with the Wâdy er-Rabâbi,



Photograph by Bonfils

THE PATRIARCH'S POOL

as we have seen to be most likely, then En-Rogel must be identified with Bîr-Eiyûb which lies at the mouth of this valley. It can be identified with the Virgin's Fountain only upon the hypothesis that the Hinnom is the Wâdy Sitti Maryam—a view that it is impossible to defend. Even if the theory be adopted that the Hinnom is the modern El-Wâd, En-Rogel will still have to be Bîr-Eiyûb, since this lies near the mouth of this valley.

According to II Sam. 17:17, "Jonathan and Ahimaaz stayed by En-Rogel; and a maid-servant used to go and tell them; and they

went and told King David: for they might not be seen to come into the city." These statements are much more consistent with the location of En-Rogel at Job's Well than at the Virgin's Fountain. Job's Well is near enough to Jerusalem to be reached easily on foot, and yet it is out of sight of the city around a turn in the valley. The Virgin's Fountain, which lies immediately outside of the city, and is a resort of the citizens who come to draw water, is too public a place for the spies to have chosen as a rendezvous. Bîr-Eiyûb, accordingly, meets all the conditions in the case, while the Virgin's Fountain does not meet them.

The same is true of the statement of I Kings 11:9, that "Adonijah slew sheep and oxen and fatlings by the stone of Zoheleth, which is beside En-Rogel; and he called all his brethren the king's sons, and all the men of Judah the king's servants." Adonijah wished to select a place near enough to Jerusalem for him to gather his forces easily and to seize the city quickly after he had been proclaimed king. At the same time, he was anxious to be sufficiently far away to have his movements unobserved until the *coup d'état* was effected. Bîr-Eiyûb meets all the conditions; it is accessible to Jerusalem, and yet is out of sight of the city. Springs from time immemorial were holy places in the estimation of the ancient Hebrews, and consequently this was an appropriate spot for the killing of sacrifices and the inauguration of a king. The only objection that can be made to this identification is the mention of the "stone Zoheleth which is beside En-Rogel." In the modern village of Silwân, which lies east of the Virgin's Fountain, Clermont-Ganneau discovered that a steep rock up which the women carry their water-skins is known by the name of Zahwêleh, which is etymologically a possible equivalent of the Hebrew Zoheleth. On this he based the theory that En-Rogel is the adjacent Virgin's Fountain. This view has been followed by Warren and Conder, but the evidence is insufficient to prove the theory. The name Zahwêleh is used by Palestinian villagers for any slide or steep declivity, so that there is nothing to connect it with the particular stone Zoheleth mentioned in I Kings 11:9. Moreover, the stone Zoheleth was evidently an altar on which Adonijah sacrificed sheep and oxen, while the Zahwêleh is a sort of staircase ascending the cliff. Even if the identity of the name Zahwêleh with

Zohēleth can be established, there are so many instances of the shifting of names from one locality to another that no certain conclusions can be based upon this identification. There is no reason, therefore,



Photograph by L. B. Paton

THE ZAḤWĒLEH IN THE VILLAGE OF SILWÂN

why one should depart from the conclusion demanded by the passages just cited, that En-Rogel is identical with Bîr-Eiyûb.

2. *The Gihon*.—If En-Rogel is Bîr-Eiyûb, then Gihon must be the other of the two modern springs of Jerusalem—namely, the Virgin's Fountain. This identification is confirmed by all the Old

Testament references. The name Gihon means "gusher." This is applicable only to an intermittent spring, such as the Virgin's Fountain. Nowhere in the Old Testament is Gihon specifically called a "spring," but its name is sufficient evidence of its character, and Josephus (*Ant.*, vii, 14:5) calls it a "fountain." It is first mentioned in I Kings 1:33 at the time of Adonijah's attempted revolution, when David commanded his servants to bring Solomon down to Gihon and there anoint him king. Near by were Adonijah and his company at En-Rogel, who heard the shouts of the people with Solomon and scattered in confusion. David had no reason for fearing to send his son to be crowned at the nearest spring, so that, if Adonijah selected the more remote En-Rogel, he would naturally select the Virgin's Fountain. This was convenient to the city and was doubtless just as holy as En-Rogel. The turn in the valley prevented the conspirators with Adonijah from seeing any thing that went on at the Virgin's Fountain, but when the new king was greeted with shouts, the distance was so short that they heard the noise. All the conditions of the story are met, accordingly, by the assumption that En-Rogel, where Adonijah was, was Bîr-Eiyûb, and Gihon, where Solomon was, was the Virgin's Fountain. The theories of Robinson, Lewin, and Warren which identify Gihon with the tank of stagnant water known as Birket es-Sultân or with Birket Mamilla, the other reservoir on the west side of the city, fail to recognize that Gihon was a spring, and that these reservoirs are too far away from En-Rogel for Adonijah to have heard anything that went on at them. These pools are probably both of late origin; but even if they were ancient, there was nothing about them to make them holy places to which a king would be taken for coronation.

In II Chron. 32:30 we are told that "Hezekiah also stopped the upper outflow of the waters of Gihon and brought them straight down to the west side of the City of David." This passage implies that the Gihon was a fountain, and hence forbids its identification with any reservoir. It states that Hezekiah stopped the overflow of this spring outside of the city and brought the water to the west side of the City of David. It is impossible to refer this to anything else than a blocking-up of an old watercourse still visible on the surface of the ground south of the city wall, and the construction of the tunnel

through the rock which now conducts the water of the Virgin's Fountain to the Pool of Silwân. This tunnel is also referred to in II Kings 18:17; 20:20; Isa. 22:9, 11; II Chron. 32:4 (see pp. 104 ff.).

In II Chron. 33:14 we are told that "Manasseh built an outer wall to the City of David, on the west side of Gihon in the brook." The *nahal*, or "brook," as we have seen, is the name constantly applied to the valley of the Kidron, or Wâdy Sitti Maryam. If Gihon lay in the Kidron valley, it must be identified with the Virgin's Fountain.

3. *The Pool of Siloam.*—The name Shiloah, or Siloam, is the exact equivalent of Silwân, the name now applied to the pool at the mouth of El-Wâd that is fed by the tunnel from the Virgin's Fountain. All the ancient references agree with this identification. Isa. 8:6 speaks of "the waters of Shiloah that go softly." In Neh. 3:15 the Pool of Shelah, or Siloam, is mentioned as lying between the Fountain Gate and the King's Garden. The Fountain Gate is known to have been situated at the southern extremity of the city, and the King's Garden was the fertile, well-watered tract that lies at the junction of the Tyropoeon Valley with the valley of the Kidron. Siloam is also mentioned in Luke 13:4 and in John 9:7, but these passages throw no light upon its location, except that in John the name "Pool of Siloam" corresponds with the fact that 'Ain Silwân is not a fountain, but a reservoir fed by the conduit from Gihon. Josephus (*War*, v, 4:1) states that Siloam lay at the southern end of the Tyropoeon Valley, and describes it as a fountain with much sweet water. In *War*, v, 9:4, he describes it as a spring outside of the city. In *War*, v, 4:2, he names it as the southern point at which the wall bent around (cf. *War*, v, 12:2; ii, 16:2; v, 6:1; vi, 7:2; vi, 8:5). These passages all indicate that he located Siloam in the same place as the modern Pool of Silwân. In regard to this identification there is no dispute among topographers.

This pool is also referred to in II Kings 20:20, where it is said of Hezekiah: "He made the pool and the conduit and brought water into the city." The "conduit" is the Siloam Tunnel, and the "pool" is the Pool of Siloam into which the tunnel empties. In Neh. 2:14 it is called "the King's Pool," either because it was built by King Hezekiah, or because it was adjacent to the King's Gardens. In

Isa. 22:9, 11 it is said: "Ye stopped the waters of the lower pool. Ye made also a reservoir between the two walls for the water of the old pool." The "lower" or "old" pool can be only the Birket el-Hamra, or Lower Pool of Siloam, which, before Hezekiah's tunnel was made, was filled from the Gihon, or Virgin's Fountain, by a conduit on the surface of the ground on the west side of the Kidron Valley. The new "reservoir between the two walls" can be only the Upper Pool of Siloam, into which the water was diverted from the "old pool" by Hezekiah's tunnel.

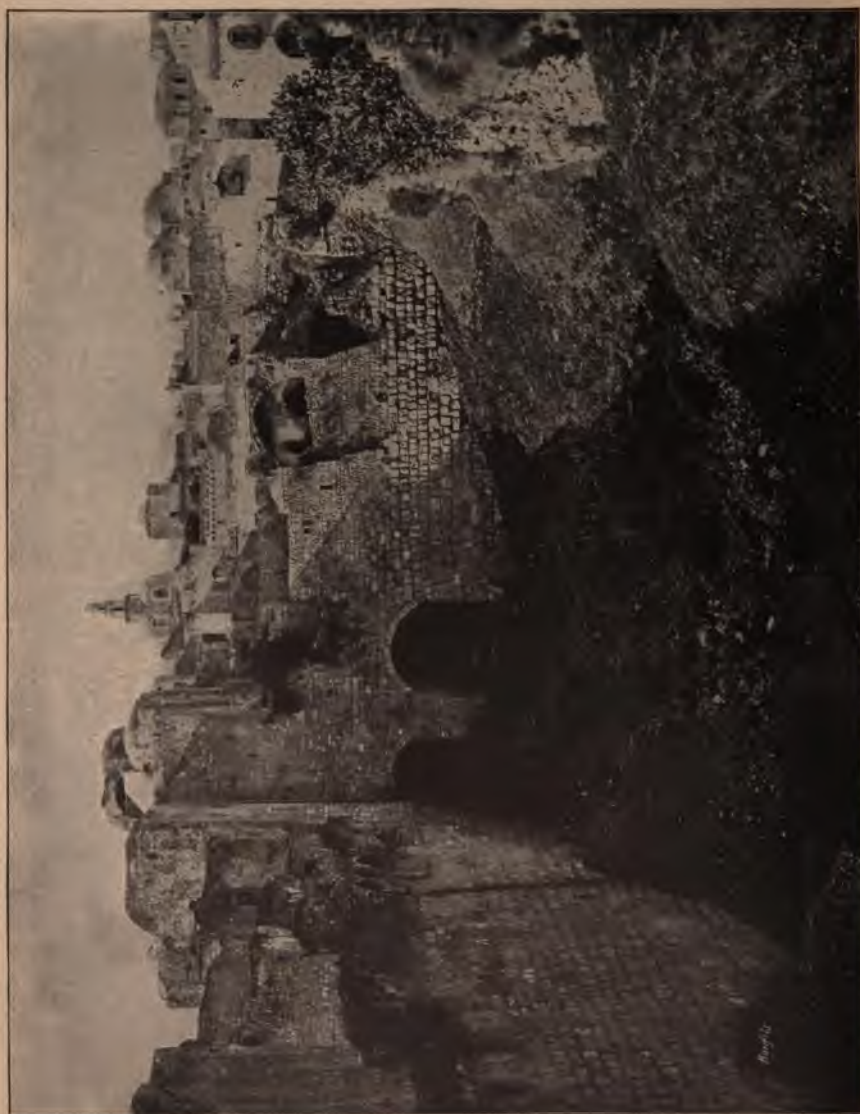
Isa. 7:3 speaks of "the conduit of the upper pool in the highway of the fuller's field." This "upper pool" one would naturally suppose to be the Upper Pool of Siloam that is fed by the Siloam Tunnel, except that Isa., chap. 7, belongs to the reign of Ahaz, while the Siloam Tunnel was constructed by Hezekiah. Unless the writer of Isa., chap. 7, employs the name "conduit of the upper pool" proleptically, we shall have to assume that the "upper pool" here means the Gihon, from which the old surface conduit that preceded Hezekiah's tunnel led to the "lower pool." This will also be the meaning of II Kings 18:17=Isa. 36:2 which speaks of Sennacherib's messengers to Hezekiah as standing "by the conduit of the upper pool which is in the highway of the fuller's field."

4. *The Pool of Bethesda.*—In John 5:2 we are told:

Now there is in Jerusalem by the sheep . . . a pool, which is called Bethesda,* having five porches. In these lay a multitude of them that were sick, blind, halt, and withered. And a certain man was there which had been thirty and eight years in his infirmity. When Jesus saw him lying, and knew that he had been now a long time in that case, he said unto him, Wouldest thou be made whole? The sick man answered him, Sir, I have no man, when the water is troubled, to put me into the pool: but while I am coming, another steppeth down before me. Jesus saith unto him, Arise, take up thy bed, and walk.

Our only clues to the location of this pool are, that it was near something connected with sheep; that it had five porches large enough to hold a multitude of sick people; that its waters flowed intermittently; and that it lay outside of the city, so that Jesus was violating the Jewish sabbath law in telling the lame man to carry his mat to his house. On the hypothesis that the Sheep Gate in the north wall of the Temple lay near it, Bethesda has been traditionally identified

* Some manuscripts read Bethsaida; others, Bethzatha.



Photograph by Bonfisi

BIRKET ISRA'ÏL

From the fourteenth century till recent times supposed to be the Pool of Bethesda. See p. 43

which they built a church. This cistern lay outside of the city wall in the time of Christ, but it has not five porches capable of accommodating a multitude of people, and its waters never flowed intermittently. The Virgin's Fountain is the only intermittent spring in the vicinity of Jerusalem, and therefore Bethesda is probably to be located at this point. It is true that no remains of porches are to be seen here, but excavations have never been made, and it is possible that such remains exist buried beneath the deep accumulation of débris that now surrounds this fountain.*

5. *The Pool Struthion* is mentioned by Josephus (*War*, v, 11:4) as lying near to the Tower of Antonia. Apparently it is identical with Birket Isra'îl, which lies east of the site of Antonia and north of the Temple.

6. *The Pool Amygdalon*.—In *War*, v, 11:4, Josephus says that the tenth legion of Titus' army, after the capture of the two outer walls on the north, was encamped at a long distance from the Pool Struthion at the Pool Amygdalon. This seems to indicate that Amygdalon is identical with Birket Hammâm el-Batraq, or "the Patriarch's Pool."

7. *The Serpent's Pool*.—In *War*, v, 3:2, Josephus states that Titus "made all the places level from Scopus to Herod's Monuments, which adjoined to the pool called the Serpent's Pool." This seems to show that the Serpent's Pool is identical with the modern Birket Mamilla.

* See the valuable article on "The Pool of Bethesda," by Dr. E. W. G. Masterman in the *Biblical World*, February, 1905.

CHAPTER IV

THE CITY OF DAVID

The two main valleys of Jerusalem, Wâdy Sitti Maryam, or the Kidron, and Wâdy er-Rabâbi, or the Hinnom, form a wedge-shaped

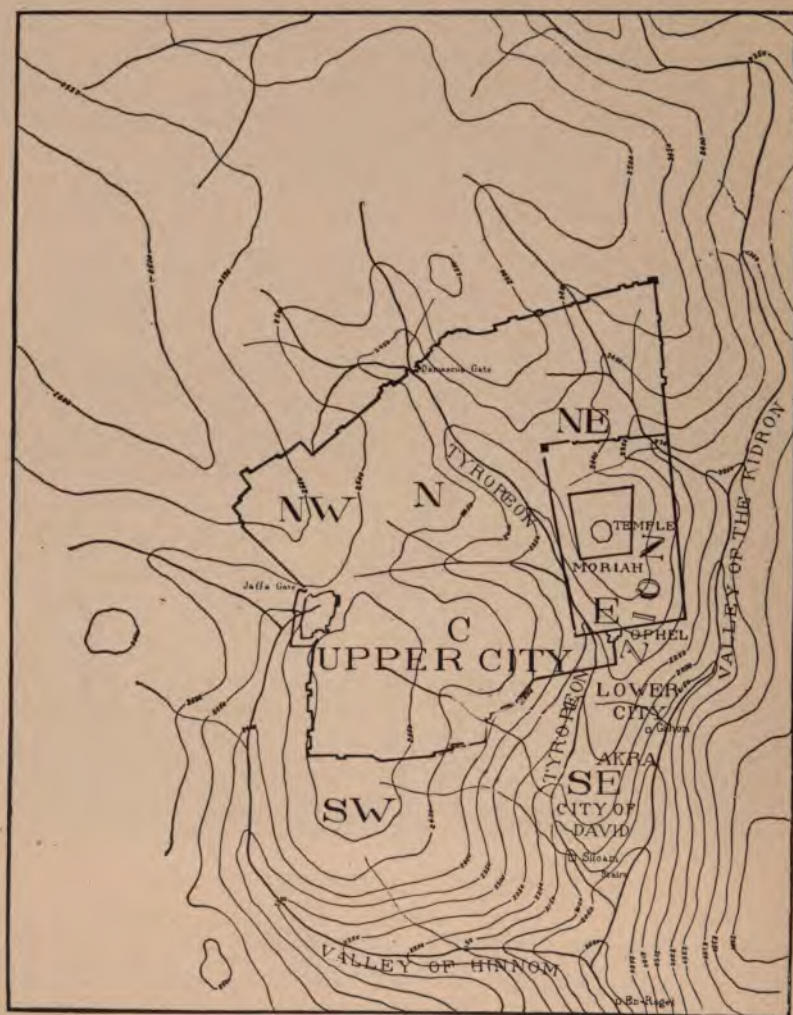


Photograph by L. B. Paton

THE WESTERN HILL OF JERUSALEM

plateau that is cut off from the surrounding country on the east, south, and west, and that is connected with the tableland of central Judea only on the north. This plateau is divided by El-Wâd, the ancient Tyropoeon, into two unequal divisions, which we may call the west hill and the east hill.

The west hill is three times as large as the eastern one, and at its highest point, near the southwest corner of the city, rises to a height of 2,550 feet, so that it overlooks the Temple mount. By the arms of



THE HILLS OF JERUSALEM

the valley, El-Wâd, this hill is subdivided into four smaller hills. The first lies in the northwest corner of the present city, and may be designated as NW; the second lies between the site of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher and the main valley El-Wâd. It is cut off from NW by a small arm of the western branch of El-Wâd that comes down from the vicinity of the Church of the Sepulcher. It may be designated as N (the north summit). The third summit lies in the southwest corner of the city, and may be designated as SW. Separated from it by the southern branch of El-Wâd is a fourth slight elevation, which we may designate as C (central hill).

The smaller eastern hill, on which the Mosque of Omar lies and on which the ancient Temple stood, is narrow, and curves in a crescent shape from northwest to southeast and then again to southwest. Its highest elevation, in the northeast corner of the city on the site of the Dome of the Rock, is a little over 2,400 feet. It is subdivided by one of the arms of the Kidron that runs across the upper end of the Mosque inclosure into two main summits. The northernmost of these lay outside of the limits of the ancient city. An arm of this branch, running from west to east across the northern end of the Haram area, forms two small hills; and the excavations of Guthe south of the Haram area seem to show that there was another small valley south of the Temple which separated the southern end of the eastern hill from the summit on which the Temple stood. There were, thus, three peaks to that portion of the eastern hill which lay within the ancient city limits. These may be designated for brevity as NE (northeast summit), E (the east central summit), and SE (southeast summit).

The task now before us is the identification of the hills and city quarters mentioned in antiquity with these seven summits of the modern city. In this investigation we shall follow the order in which the hills are first mentioned in the Bible, and in the discussion of each we shall examine the evidence in chronological order. This is the only safe method; for it frequently happens that names are shifted from one locality to another in the growth of tradition, so that it is dangerous to start with late references and to work backward from them.

The first hill mentioned in the Old Testament is the strong-

hold of the Jebusites which David captured and renamed after himself. In II Sam. 5:6-8 = I Chron. 11:5 f. we are told:

And the king and his men went to Jerusalem against the Jebusites, the inhabitants of the land; which spake unto David saying, Except thou take away the blind and the lame thou shalt not come in hither: thinking, David cannot come in hither. Nevertheless David took the stronghold of Zion; the same is the City of David. And David said on that day, Whosoever smiteth the Jebusites, let him go up by the watercourse And David dwelt in the stronghold, and called it the City of David.



Photograph by L. B. Paton

THE EASTERN HILL OF JERUSALEM

The fortress of the Canaanites here mentioned must have lain near a water supply; in fact, this is indicated by the allusion to the "water-course." Gihon, the modern Virgin's Fountain, is the only spring in the immediate neighborhood of Jerusalem; it seems certain, therefore, that ancient Jebus was situated near this spring. This naturally suggests a position on SE, from which hill Gihon is most accessible. The allusion to the "water-course," or "gutter" in II Sam. 5:8 is plausibly interpreted as referring to the ancient tunnel which Warren discovered leading from the top of the eastern hill down

to the Virgin's Fountain. The statement of this same passage, that Jebus was so strong that the blind and the lame could hold it against an enemy, shows that it had a fine natural location. This is truer of SE than of any other part of the city. Inaccessible cliffs surround it on all sides, except on the narrow neck at the north which connects it with the upper ridges of the eastern hill, and this could easily be protected with a rampart. SW and NE are higher hills, but they are not so easily defended. Before artillery was invented, SE must have been well-nigh impregnable, and military authorities are agreed that it is the most likely location for the ancient stronghold of Jebus.

David's flight recorded in II Sam., chap. 15, does not mention the City of David, but implies that he lived on the eastern hill, inasmuch as his first halting-point was the valley of Kidron (cf. vs. 23).

The statement of I Kings 1:33, that Solomon was sent down to Gihon to be anointed, also suggests the nearness of David's residence to this spring. In a sudden emergency, when everything depended upon haste, David would not have been likely to send Solomon to a remote fountain. If the City of David was located on SE, it was necessary merely to drop down over the edge of the hill to be at the sacred place.

In none of the passages where the City of David is mentioned is one said to "go up" to it. David brings the ark into the City of David (II Sam. 6:10); the ark goes in (II Sam. 6:16 = I Chron. 15:29); Solomon brings the daughter of Pharaoh into the City (I Kings 3:1). These statements show that the City of David did not lie on high ground. They are appropriate to SE, which is considerably lower than all the other hills; but they are not appropriate, if the City of David was situated upon SW (its traditional location), or upon any of the other hills. On the other hand, it is always said that one "goes up" from the City of David to the Temple and to the Palace which Solomon built on E adjacent to the Temple. Thus, in I Kings 8:1 = II Chron. 5:2, "Solomon brought up the ark of the covenant of the Lord out of the City of David;" I Kings 9:24, "Pharaoh's daughter came up out of the City of David into her house which Solomon had built for her" (cf. II Chron. 8:11). This language is explainable only if the City of David lay on SE, which is considerably lower than E, the Temple hill.

In Isa. 29:1, 2, 7 we read:

Ho, Ariel, Ariel, the city where David encamped! add ye year to year; let the feasts come round: then will I distress Ariel. . . . And the multitude of all the nations that fight against Ariel, even all that fight against her and her stronghold, and that distress her, shall be as a dream.

From this it appears that the City of David is identical with Ariel, "the hearth of God," where the feasts are celebrated; that is, it is identical with the Temple mountain.

According to Ezek. 43:7, the kings of Judah have defiled the Temple by putting their sepulchers close to it; but the tombs of the kings were in the City of David (cf. I Kings 11:43; 14:31; 15:8; 15:24; 22:50; II Kings 8:24; 9:28; 12:21; 14:20; 15:7; 15:38; 16:20); the City of David, therefore, must have been adjacent to the Temple on the eastern hill. We know that NE was not built upon until a late period. Consequently the City of David can have lain only on SE.

Neh. 3:15 records:

The fountain gate repaired Shallun the son of Colhozeh, the ruler of the district of Mizpah; he built it, and covered it, and set up the doors thereof, the bolts thereof, and the bars thereof, and the wall of the pool of Shelah by the king's garden, even unto the stairs that go down from the City of David.

From this it appears that the stairs of the City of David were adjacent to the Pool of Siloam and the King's Garden at the mouth of the Tyropoeon Valley. This shows that the City of David lay on SE, immediately above the Pool of Siloam. The same conclusion is demanded by the narrative of the procession of the Levites in Neh. 12:37, who went from the Fountain Gate, which lay in the Tyropoeon close to Siloam, to the stairs of the City of David, and then onward to the Water Gate, which lay in the east wall of the city above Gihon. The excavations of Frederick Bliss on SE have disclosed a number of steps cut in the rock at the southern end of SE. In all probability these are identical with the stairs of the City of David mentioned by Nehemiah.

II Chron. 32:30 records that Hezekiah "stopped the upper outflow of the waters of Gihon and brought them straight down on the west side of the City of David." If, as we have seen, Gihon is the Virgin's Fountain in the Kidron Valley, this water-course of King Hezekiah

can only be the tunnel which runs under SE from the Virgin's Fountain to Siloam. Consequently the City of David can only be SE, on whose west side the Siloam tunnel empties.

II Chron. 33:14 narrates that Manasseh built "an outer wall to the City of David on the west side of Gihon in the brook (*nahal*)."
"Gihon in the brook" is the Virgin's Fountain, and the wall of the City of David west of Gihon can only be a wall on the eastern side of



Photograph by B. L. Paton

THE STAIRS OF THE CITY OF DAVID

the eastern hill. These last two passages in Second Chronicles are derived from ancient sources, and consequently have a higher historical value than statements of the Chronicler himself.

In I Macc. 1:33 we read: "They builded the City of David with a great and strong wall with strong towers, and it became unto them an Akra;" also in I Macc. 7:32, 33: "They fled into the City of David; and after these things Nicanor went up to Mount Zion and there came some of the priests out of the sanctuary;" I Macc. 14:36: "They were taken away also that were in the City of David, they that were in Jerusalem, who had made themselves an Akra, out of which

they issued and polluted all things round about the sanctuary." These passages indicate that the City of David which the Greeks turned into their Akra, or stronghold, was in close proximity to the Temple. Its precise location is not stated, but it must have been somewhere on the eastern hill. Since the City of David has been identified with SE by all previous references, it is natural to understand it of the same hill in these passages (see pp. 128 ff.).

Josephus mentions the City of David in *Ant.*, vii, 3:1, 2.

Now the Jebusites, who were the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and were by extraction Canaanites, shut their gates, and placed the blind, and the lame, and all their maimed persons, upon the wall, in way of derision of the king; and said, that the very lame themselves would hinder his entrance into it. This they did depending on the strength of their walls. David was hereby enraged and began the siege of Jerusalem, employing his utmost diligence and alacrity therein. . . . So he took the Lower City by force, but the Akra held out still; whence it was that the king, knowing that the proposal of dignities and rewards would encourage the soldiers to greater actions, promised that he who should first go over the ditches that were beneath the Akra, and should ascend to the Akra itself and take it, should have the command of the entire people conferred upon him. So they were all ambitious to ascend, and thought no pains too great in order to ascend thither; . . . However, Joab, the son of Zeruah, preceded the rest; and as soon as he was got up, cried out to the king, and claimed the chief command. When David had cast the Jebusites out of the Akra, he also rebuilt Jerusalem, and named it the City of David, and abode there all the time of his reign. . . . Now David took possession of the Upper (some MSS. read "Lower") City: he also joined the Akra to it and made it one body; and when he had encompassed all with walls he appointed Joab to take care of them. It was David, therefore, who first cast the Jebusites out of Jerusalem, and called it by his own name, the City of David.

In this passage Josephus identifies the City of David with the Akra and regards it as part of the Lower City, which he contrasts with the Upper City. By the Akra he means the stronghold of the Hasmoneans, for he quotes First Maccabees in numerous places where he speaks of it (cf. *Ant.*, xii, 3:3; 6:2; 7:6; 9:3; 9:4; 10:4; xiii, 1:3; 2:3; 4:9; 5:2; 5:11; 6:6; 6:7; *War*, i, 2:2). In other passages also he equates Akra with the Lower City. Thus, in *War* i, 1:4, we read: "So he ejected them out of the Upper City, and drove the soldiers into the Lower, which part of the city was called the Akra," *War*, v, 4:1: "The other hill, which was called

Akra, and sustains the Lower City, is of the shape of a gibbous moon;" *War*, v, 6:1: "He also held that fountain, and the Akra, which was no other than the Lower City." Accordingly, it is clear that, if we can identify either the Akra or the Lower City with one of the hills of Jerusalem, we shall know where Josephus located the City of David.

The most important passage on this subject is *War*, v, 4:1:

The city was built upon two hills, which were opposite to one another, and had a valley to divide them asunder, into which the houses on both hills descended continuously. Of these hills, that which contained the Upper City was much higher, longer, and straighter. Accordingly, the stronger was called Phourion by King David; he was the father of that Solomon who built the first Temple; but by us it was called the Upper Market-Place. But the other hill, which was called Akra, and sustained the Lower City, was of the shape of a gibbous moon. Over against this was a third hill, but naturally lower than Akra, and parted formerly from the other by a broad valley. However, in those times when the Hasmoneans reigned, they filled up that valley with earth, having a mind to join the city to the Temple. They then took off part of the height of Akra, and reduced it to a less elevation than it was before, that the Temple might be superior to it.

The location of the first of these hills, which Josephus calls the Upper City, is certain. All modern topographers identify it with SW. This corresponds with Josephus' description of it as the highest of the hills, and with what he says about the inaccessible valley which defended it. The third hill, which Josephus says lay over against Akra, is not quite so certain. Spiess (*Das Jerusalem des Josephus*) thinks that it was NW, but it seems plain, from what Josephus says in this passage about the cutting-down of the Akra hill until it was lower than the Temple, that the third hill is the Temple hill. On this point there is general agreement. In regard to the second hill, the Akra, or Lower City, there is, however, no consensus of opinion. Every one of the seven hills except SW has been suggested by someone as its location.

1. The monk Brocardus in 1283 suggested that the Akra was NW, and he has been followed by Robinson, Conder, Fergusson, de Saulcy, Pierotti, Gatt, and many others. This view is open to a number of insuperable objections. Josephus describes the Akra as lower than the Upper City; but NW is higher than SW. Josephus describes Akra as a hill; but NW is not an independent summit,

but is part of the same ridge with SW. Josephus says that both of the hills of Jerusalem were inclosed with deep valleys; but NW is not inclosed in this way. Josephus says that a valley between Akra and the Temple hill had been filled up in his day, so that it no longer existed; but the valley between NW and the Temple has not been filled and is clearly seen to this day. Josephus describes Akra as shaped like a gibbous moon; but this does not apply to NW. First Maccabees and Josephus both state that Akra lay so near to the Temple that it was a constant menace to the worshipers. This was not true of NW (cf. I Macc. 1:33-40; 14:36; *Ant.*, xii, 7:6; 9:3). In *War*, vi, 8:4, Josephus states that when Titus had captured the Upper City the people fled to Akra; but by the capture of the second wall NW was already in his hands, and the Roman soldiers were encamped there (cf. *War*, v, 8).

2. Fallmerayer in 1852 identified Akra with N. He has been followed by Williams, Lewin, DeVogüé, Warren, Merrill, and Schick. This theory is open to nearly all of the objections that have just been urged against NW. N is not inaccessible from all sides; is not an independent hill, but is a part of NW; is not gibbous-shaped; is not so adjacent to the Temple as to be a menace to it; and the valley between it and the Temple is not filled up. Of all the Akra theories this is the least plausible.

3. The theory that Akra lay north of the Temple on NE has been advocated by Williams, Schultz, Krafft, and Schafer. This theory has the advantage of placing Akra near to the Temple, as the statements of First Maccabees and Josephus demand. The valley between this hill and the Temple has also been filled up, as Josephus asserts. The objections to this view are that NE is not appreciably lower than SW, and that it is higher than the Temple; whereas Josephus asserts that, after the capture of Akra by Simon, it was cut down until it was lower than the Temple. Furthermore, no part of NE was included in the first wall of the city, as described by Josephus (*War*, v, 4:2). Consequently, if, as First Maccabees and Josephus assert, Akra equals the City of David, Akra cannot have lain north of the Temple.

Against all three of the theories which place Akra in the northern part of the modern city, the fact may be urged that this quarter lay

outside of the inner, northern wall of the old city. This wall, according to Josephus (*War*, v, 4:2), began at the Tower of Hippicus, near the Jaffa Gate, and ran straight east along the western branch of the Tyropoeon to the west cloister of the Temple. When Josephus asserts that the ancient city lay on two hills, and that it was inclosed on the north with three walls, he evidently implies that the two hills lay inside of the innermost wall. In that case we are to look for the Lower City as well as the Upper City south of the line extending from the Jaffa Gate to the west cloister of the Temple. Accordingly, Akra cannot be identified either with NW, with N, or with NE.

4. Tobler first proposed to identify Akra with C. In this he has been followed by Mommert. This view has the advantages of putting Akra inside of the innermost wall, and of making it adjacent both to the Upper City (SW) and to the Temple hill (E); but it is open to the following objections: Josephus states that the Akra was cut down by Simon until it was lower than the Temple; but C is not lower than E. Josephus also asserts that the valley between Akra and the Temple was filled up with material obtained by cutting the Akra down; this is not true of the valley between C and E, which still forms a deep gorge. *War*, vi, 6:2, says that a bridge connected the Upper City with the Temple, but this bridge ran from C to E. Consequently, Josephus regarded C as a part of the Upper City. It cannot, therefore, be identified with the Akra or Lower City.

5. The theory that the Akra was the Temple hill itself, and that the Lower City lay in a ring around the Temple, has been advocated by Thrupp and von Alten; but it is impossible, because Josephus distinguishes the Temple hill as a third hill different from both the Upper and the Lower City, and because the Lower City was in existence in the time of David, while the Temple quarter was not laid out until the reign of Solomon.

6. The one theory that remains is to identify the Akra=Lower City=City of David with SE, where we have found the City of David to be located by all earlier authorities. This view was first proposed by Olshausen. It has been adopted by Caspari, Menke, Riess, Furrer, von Klaiber, Benzinger, Buhl, Guthe, W. R. Smith, G. A. Smith, and other leading modern authorities. It does justice to all the statements of Josephus previously quoted. SE is lower than

SW, the Upper City; it is separated from it by a deep valley, the Tyropoeon; it is lower than the Temple hill; and there is no valley at present between it and the Temple, although the excavations of Guthe seem to show that such a valley once existed. Whether Josephus is correct in saying that the Akra was originally higher than the Temple, and that there was once a broad valley between the two, we are not called upon to investigate. The only fact that concerns us is that in his own time it was lower than the Temple, and that no valley then existed. The SE hill also answers to the description of being gibbous-shaped. This hill lies south of the inner wall of Jerusalem, and consequently does justice to the statement that the city consisted of two hills at the time when it was inclosed with its first wall. When one reads that the city of Jerusalem lay upon two hills, one thinks immediately of SW and SE separated by the deep El-Wâd. Any other identification of the Lower City compels us to assume that the Tyropoeon is not the principal valley that runs through the heart of the city, but some insignificant gully that enters this valley from the west. Tacitus in *Hist.*, v, 11, also speaks of Jerusalem as lying on two hills, and by these he means SW and SE.

Josephus quotes all the passages in First Maccabees that describe the Akra as near to the Temple. He must, therefore, have located it upon the east hill. *Ant.*, xiv, 16:2, says that when the outer court of the Temple and the Lower City fell into the hands of the Romans, the Jews fled into the inner court and into the Upper City. This implies that the outer court and Lower City were adjacent. The same is implied in *War*, ii, 17:5, where it is said that the rebels held the Lower City and the Temple; and in *War*, iv, 9:12, where one of the towers erected at the corner of the Temple controlled the Lower City. In *War*, vi, 6:3, Akra is combined with Ophel—a quarter of the city which is known to have lain immediately south of the Temple. In *War*, vi, 7:2, after the taking of the Temple, we read: "The Romans drove the robbers out of the Lower City and set all on fire as far as Siloam."

It appears, accordingly, that Josephus located the Akra or City of David in the same place where it is located by all the earlier references in the Old Testament and Apocrypha. The one passage which is proposed to contradict this view is *War*, v, 4:1, where we are told

that David called the Upper City the stronghold; but the word used here is not "Akra," but "Phrourion." In not one passage does Josephus put the City of David elsewhere than on SE. There is, accordingly, an unbroken tradition in favor of the location of the City of David on SE, from the earliest times down to Josephus. After the destruction of Jerusalem the City of David was supposed to have lain on SW, where today the tomb of David is shown by the Moslems; but there is no trace of this tradition before the fourth century A. D., and it is worthless over against the large body of ancient evidence in favor of SE.

from the sanctuary, and strengthen thee out of Zion;" Ps. 78:68, "Mount Zion which he loved, and he built his sanctuary." As the site of the Temple, Zion is repeatedly described as "the place that Yahweh has chosen," or "has loved" (cf. Pss. 78:68; 87:2, 5). It is also said to be "the place where he dwelleth," or "where he reigns" (cf. Pss. 48:2; 74:2; 76:2; 99:2; 132:13; 146:10; 9:11, 14; 2:6; 87:2). As the dwelling-place of Yahweh, Zion is described as the source of salvation, life, and blessing for Israel (cf. Pss. 9:14; 14:7; 50:2; 53:6; 110:2; 128:5; 133:3; 134:3). Zion is also repeatedly described as the place where the worship of Yahweh goes on, which also implies that it was the mountain on which the Temple stood; thus, Ps. 65:1, "Praise waiteth for thee, O God, in Zion, and unto thee shall the vow be performed;" Ps. 84:7, "Every one of them appeareth before God in Zion." In Ps. 137:1, 3 the songs of the Temple are described as songs of Zion (cf. Ps. 102:21; 147:12; 125:1). Those who follow ecclesiastical tradition in locating Zion on the west hill explain these passages by assuming that the name Zion was originally applied to SW, but was subsequently extended to cover the entire city, and then was limited in the language of religion to the Temple mountain. This theory is so artificial that it has found no favor among critical historians.

7. The writings of the Apocrypha connect Zion with the Temple in precisely the same manner as the earlier literature. In I Macc. 4:37, 38 we read: "And all the army was gathered together and they went up unto Mount Zion. And they saw the sanctuary laid desolate, and the altar profaned, and the gates burned up, and shrubs growing in the courts as in a forest or as on one of the mountains, and the priests' chambers pulled down;" I Macc. 5:54, "And they went up to Mount Zion with gladness and joy, and offered whole burnt offerings;" 7:32, "And there fell on Nicanor's side about five hundred men, and they fled into the City of David; and after these things Nicanor went up to Mount Zion, and there came some of the priests out of the sanctuary." In 14:27 it is narrated that it was decided to set up certain pillars in honor of Simon on Mount Zion. In 14:48 we are told that these were set up in a conspicuous place within the compass of the sanctuary.

The only way in which advocates of the west-Zion theory can

dispose of these statements is to assert that First Maccabees is in error in its identification. Thus, Mommert (Vol. I, p. 179) remarks: "In the second century before Christ in Maccabees Zion appears for a short time as a designation of the sanctuary." As a matter of fact, Zion has never appeared as anything else than a designation of the sanctuary from the earliest times onward. This identification is not peculiar to Maccabees among the books of the Apocrypha, but is found also in Ecclus. 24:10, "In the holy tabernacle I ministered before him; and so was I established in Zion;" I Esdr. 8:81, "He glorified the temple of our Lord, and raised up the desolate Zion."

8. Josephus never uses the name Zion, but in *Ant.* i, 13:2; vii. 4:2; 13:4, he states that David's tent for the ark was pitched on the same mountain on which Solomon's Temple was afterward built. David's tent for the ark, according to II Sam. 6:12, was placed in the City of David on Mount Zion; consequently Josephus also seems to have held that Zion was the Temple hill. We find thus an unbroken tradition identifying Zion with the eastern hill from the earliest times down to about 100 A. D.

The only objection to this view is that in many passages of the Old Testament Zion is put into parallelism with Jerusalem. This, it is claimed, shows that Zion was a name for the whole city, and therefore forbids our basing any conclusions upon its connection with the Temple. This parallelism of Zion and Jerusalem is found in the pre-exilic prophets (cf. Amos 1:2; Mic. 4:2 [=Isa. 2:3]; Isa. 4:3 f.; 10:32; 31:4 f., 9; 33:20; 37:22, 32 [=II Kings 19:21, 31]; Mic. 3:10, 12 [=Jer. 26:18]; 4:8; Zeph. 3:14, 16). It is found more frequently in the exilic and post-exilic literature (cf. Jer. 51:35; Lam. 1:17; 2:10, 13; 4:11 f.; Isa. 40:9; 41:27; 52:1 f.; 62:1; 64:10; Zech. 1:17; 8:3; 9:9; Joel 3:16 f.; Ps. 51:18; 76:2; 102:16, 21; 128:5; 147:12; 135:21; Ecclus. 24:10 f.). In a number of passages Zion and daughter Zion are used as names for the whole of Jerusalem (cf. Isa. 1:27; 10:24; 29:8; 33:5, 14; Mic. 1:13; 4:10 f.; 4:13; Jer. 3:14; 4:6, 31; 6:2, 23; 9:19; 30:17; Lam. 1:6, 17; 2:1, 4, 8, 18; 4:22; 5:11, 18; Isa. 12:6; 49:14; 51:3, 11, 16; 61:3; 62:11; 66:8; Zech. 2:7; Joel 2:23; Isa. 35:10; Ps. 9:14; 87:5; 102:13, 16; 126:1; 129:5).

It should be noted that all these passages in which Zion is put into parallelism with Jerusalem, or in which it is described as if it were

the whole city, are *poetical*. There is not one instance in prose in which Zion is identified with Jerusalem. Zion is parallel to Judah or Israel in a number of passages (cf. Jer. 14:19; Lam. 5:11; Isa. 46:13; Zech. 9:13; Ps. 48:11, 12; 69:35; 78:68; 97:8; 149:2). It would not be safe to infer from these that Zion is literally synonymous with all of Judah or Israel. It is equally unsafe to infer from poetic parallelism that Zion is literally synonymous with Jerusalem. When we consider that in the great majority of passages Zion is connected with the Temple or with something on the eastern hill, and that in not one passage is it connected with the western hill, the easiest way to explain the Old Testament usage is to assume that Zion was originally a name for the eastern hill, but that its association with the Temple made it suitable as a poetic designation of Jerusalem or Judah viewed as a religious community. When, therefore, it is placed in parallelism with Jerusalem or Judah, it does not indicate that it had an actual geographical extension to the western hill. This is a more natural hypothesis than the one which assumes that Zion was originally the name of the western hill, was then extended to the whole city, and was finally limited again to the Temple mount.

II. *Ophel*.—The hill of Ophel is first mentioned in Mic. 4:8, where it is described as "Ophel of daughter Zion." Since Zion has been found to lie on the eastern hill, this implies that Ophel was on the same ridge. Neh. 3:26 states that "the Nethinim dwelt in Ophel unto the place over against the Water Gate toward the east." The Water Gate opened upon the path which led down from the eastern hill to the spring of Gihon; consequently Ophel was situated in the middle of the eastern hill. The same location is assigned to it by the statements of Neh. 3:27 and 11:21. II Chron. 27:3 mentions the wall of Ophel in connection with the upper gate of the house of the Lord. II Chron. 33:14 connects the compassing about of Ophel with the building of an outer wall to the City of David on the west side of Gihon. Josephus, in *War*, v, 4:2, says that the eastern wall of the city ran from Siloam to the Temple and joined the eastern cloister at a place called Ophel. *War*, v, 6:1, connects Ophel with the Temple and the Valley of Kidron (cf. vi, 6:3). From these passages it is clear that Ophel must have lain on the eastern hill immediately south of the Temple.

III. *Moriah*.—Moriah as a name for the Temple mount is given only in II Chron. 3:1. Gen. 22:2, 14 (editorial) seems to know this name, inasmuch as it explains Moriah as meaning the place where men ought to appear before Yahweh—that is, the Temple. No traces of this name are found in early literature, and it is doubtful whether it was in actual use. In all early writings Zion is the name for the Temple hill. If Moriah is a real name, then we must assume that it applied to one of the smaller peaks of the eastern hill. In that case Zion was the name of the whole eastern ridge, and its three smaller peaks extending from north to south were Moriah, Ophel, and City of David.

CHAPTER VI

JERUSALEM IN THE EARLIEST TIMES

Concerning the origin of the city of Jerusalem we have no information. Even the meaning of the name is unknown. Various Semitic etymologies have been proposed, but all are uncertain, and it is possible that the name goes back to the primitive non-Semitic inhabitants of Palestine. Ezek. 16:3 says of Jerusalem: "Thy birth and thy nativity is of the land of the Canaanite; thy father was an Amorite, and thy mother a Hittite." This statement may point to a tradition that the city was originally founded by Amorite colonists, settling in Hittite territory.

In Gen. 14:18 we read that Melchizedek, king of Salem, blessed Abram, and Abram gave him tithes of the spoil taken from the kings of the East. Tradition identifies Salem with Jerusalem. This idea first appears in Ps. 76:2, and is followed by Josephus (*Ant.* i, 10:2; vii, 3:2), and by other Jewish writers. In favor of this identification are the facts that Melchizedek bears a name of similar formation with Adoni-zedek, king of Jerusalem in the time of Joshua, and that he holds a conspicuous position among the city-kings of Canaan analogous to that of the king of Jerusalem in the Tell el-Amarna letters. The fact that Abram pays tithes to him and recognizes him as a priest of the Most High God seems also to indicate a desire on the part of the writer of Gen., chap. 14, to connect the sanctity of Jerusalem with the ancient priesthood of Melchizedek. This story, however, is of very uncertain origin. By most recent critics it is regarded as a *midrash* that was not inserted in the Book of Genesis until after the exile. Upon what basis of historical tradition it rests is unknown. This story, accordingly, can scarcely be utilized to throw light upon the early history of Jerusalem.

The first emergence of the city into the light of history is in the Tell el-Amarna letters. These are dispatches sent to the

kings of Egypt by petty kings of the land of Canaan. They date from about 1400 B. C., and are written on clay tablets in the Babylonian language and cuneiform script. Seven of these letters were sent by Abdi-khiba, king of Jerusalem.¹ From these letters it appears that the king of Jerusalem was one of the more important of the city-kings, and that he had a number of towns tributary to him. His city was probably walled, because in one of the letters² he says: "We will open Jerusalem to the guards whom thou shalt send by the hand of Khaya." In all these letters he begs for the help of the king of Egypt against a people known as the Khabiri. The name is etymologically identical with "Hebrews," and these were apparently Bedawin clans of the same stock to which the later Israelites belonged. We are probably to think of the Jerusalem of Abdi-khiba as presenting a similar appearance to Gezer of the same period as it has been excavated by Mr. Macalister. The houses were one-story structures of rough stone, plastered with mud and covered with thatched roofs, containing only two or three rooms. The city-wall was a rampart of earth faced on the inside and outside with rough stones gathered off of the fields. From the Tell el-Amarna letters we learn that there was considerable wealth accumulated in the cities of Canaan at the time of the Egyptian supremacy; that an active commerce was carried on; and that the country was as prosperous as at any later period of its history.

After the time of Abdi-khiba Jerusalem disappears from our view until the Hebrew conquest, about 1200 B. C. According to Josh. 10:1, Adoni-zedek, its king, united the kings of Hebron, Jarmuth, Lachish, and Eglon in a confederacy against the Israelites. He was defeated by Joshua, but the city of Jerusalem was not captured. According to Josh. 15:63, "As for the Jebusites, the inhabitants of Jerusalem, the children of Judah could not drive them out; but the Jebusites dwelt with the children of Judah at Jerusalem, unto this day." In Judg. 1:1-7 we have a duplicate account of the war against Adoni-zedek. Here the name appears as Adoni-bezek, but this is evidently a textual corruption induced by the name Bezek in vs. 5. In vs. 7 we are told that they (that is, his own people) brought

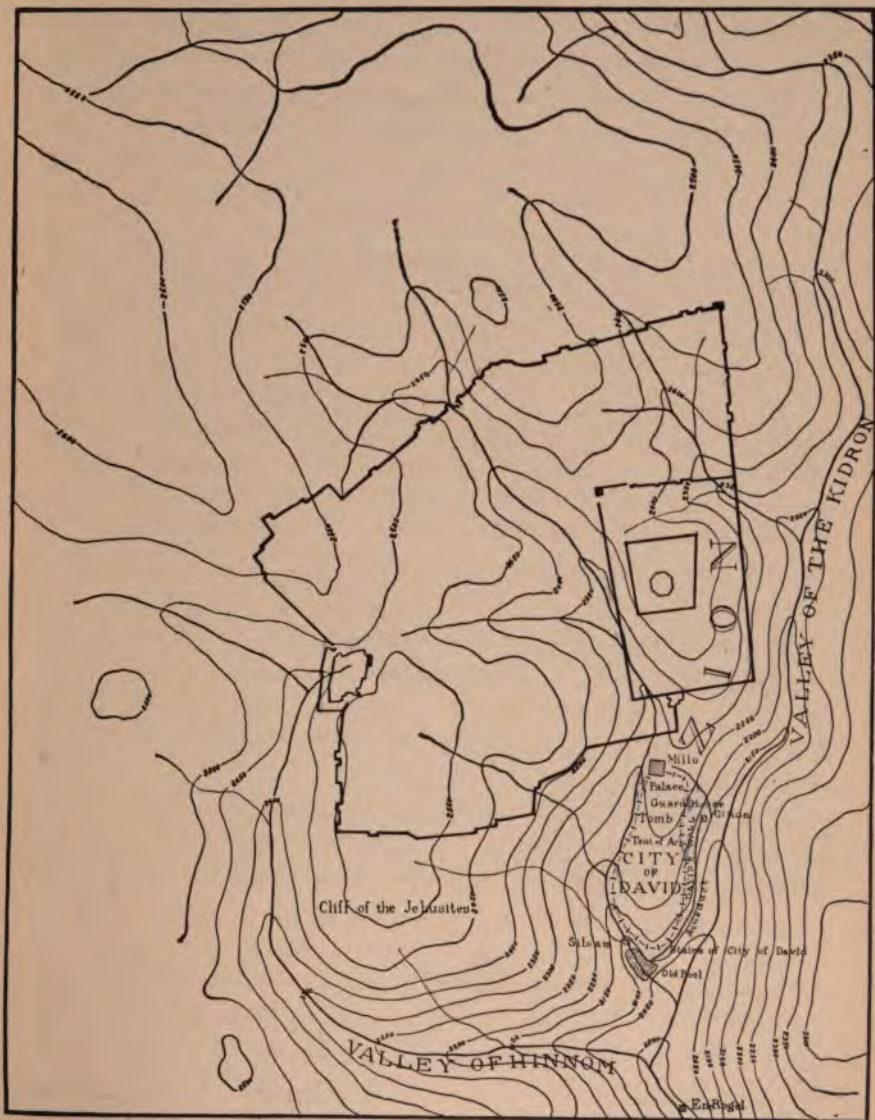
¹ Winckler, *Thontafeln von Tell-el-Amarna*, Nos. 179-85.

² *Ibid.*, No. 185.

him to Jerusalem. This shows that he was the king of Jerusalem, and makes it evident that he was the same person as Adoni-zedek of the narrative in Josh., chap. 10. Judg. 1:21 also records that, although Israel defeated the king of Jerusalem, it was not able to take his capital: "And the children of Benjamin did not drive out the Jebusites that inhabited Jerusalem: but the Jebusites dwelt with the children of Benjamin in Jerusalem unto this day." The truth of these statements is attested by the narrative of Judg. 19:12, where the Levite is unwilling to turn aside into Jerusalem because it is a city of aliens. In startling contrast with these statements, Judg. 1:8 records: "The children of Judah fought against Jerusalem and took it, and smote it with the edge of the sword and set the city on fire." This statement comes from the hand of one of the late editors of the Book of Judges, and is clearly unhistorical. Jerusalem remained in the hands of the Canaanites until it was taken from them by David.

In regard to the location and size of Canaanitish Jerusalem we have little information. In II Sam. 5:6 f. we are told that David took the stronghold of the Jebusites and renamed it after himself; consequently, the acropolis of ancient Jerusalem must have occupied the site of the later City of David. This, as we have seen, lay on the southern end of the eastern hill. This is the only natural location for the Jebusite fortress, since it is close to Gihon, the only spring that is near the city.

Whether the city was limited to the eastern hill or also spread to the western hill is uncertain. It seems to have been a place of considerable importance. Its king in the time of the Amarna letters had a number of smaller places tributary to him. Adoni-zedek in the time of Joshua was the head of a coalition. In Judg. 1:7 he boasts that he had cut off the thumbs and great toes of seventy kings, and had compelled them to gather their food under his table. If the story of Melchizedek in Gen., chap. 14, has a historical kernel, it also indicates the importance of the place. It seems hardly likely that a city of such prominence, which the Israelites were unable to capture during the entire period of the Judges, should have been limited to the small area of the southern end of the eastern hill. We are almost forced to believe that it extended to the western hill



JERUSALEM IN THE TIME OF DAVID

even before its capture by David. In Judg., chap. 19, the Levite in going from Bethlehem to Gibeah passes by the city of the Jebusites. The natural road from Bethlehem to Gibeah leads past the western hill, and the mention of a Jebusite city in this connection seems, accordingly, to show that the western hill was occupied. The Priestly Code, Josh. 15:8, speaks of the Cliff of the Jebusites as lying north of the Valley of Hinnom. The only cliff that lies north of Hinnom is the western hill, and the name "Cliff of the Jebusites" may be a survival of an ancient designation. Josephus (*Ant.*, vii, 3:2; *War*, v, 4:1) recognizes both the Upper and the Lower City as existing as early as the time of the Judges.

In II Sam. 5:6f. = I Chron. 11:4f. we read:

And the king and his men went to Jerusalem against the Jebusites, the inhabitants of the land: which spake unto David, saying, Except thou take away the blind and the lame, thou shalt not come in hither: thinking, David cannot come in hither. Nevertheless David took the stronghold of Zion; the same is the City of David. And David dwelt in the stronghold, and called it the City of David.

David chose Jerusalem as his capital, partly because of the strength of its position, and partly because it was located on the border between Judah and Benjamin, and therefore was neutral ground. By making it his residence he did not give offense to either tribe, as he must have done if he had selected a site within the territory of the other. A number of building operations are ascribed to David after his capture of the city.

1. *Millo*.—In II Sam. 5:9 mention is made of the Millo as the starting-point of the wall that inclosed the City of David. The statement that he built "round about from Millo" suggests that Millo was already in existence, as a part of the earlier Canaanitish fortification. The name is derived from a root which means "to fill," and means a "filling" or "embankment." It is not in common use in Hebrew, but appears in Assyrian in the forms *mulû* or *tamlû*, which mean an embankment on which a palace or temple stands. When one considers the extent of Babylonian influence in Canaan during the third millennium B.C., it seems likely that Millo was a Canaanitish name formed under Babylonian influence. This view is favored by the fact that Beth-Millo occurs as a proper name in the Canaanitish city of Shechem in Judg. 9:6. We meet the Millo

again in I Kings 9:15, "This is the reason of the levy which king Solomon raised; for to build the house of the Lord, and his own house, and Millo, and the wall of Jerusalem, and Hazor, and Megiddo, and Gezer;" I Kings 9:24, "Pharaoh's daughter came up out of the City of David unto her house which Solomon had built for her: then did he build Millo;" I Kings 11:27, "Solomon built Millo, and closed up the gap of the City of David his father;" II Chron. 32:5,



Photograph by L. B. Paton

NORTH END OF THE CITY OF DAVID

"And he took courage, and built up all the wall that was broken down, and raised it up to the towers, and the other wall without, and strengthened Millo in the City of David." In all these passages the LXX translates Millo by Akra, which, as we have seen, was the name of the Syrian stronghold on the east hill between the Temple and the City of David (see pp. 51 ff.).

From these passages we gather that the Millo was a fortress of some sort that could be successively enlarged by David, Solomon, and Hezekiah; that it lay in the City of David—that is, somewhere

on the southern end of the eastern hill; and that it was part of the inclosing wall of the City of David, and was designed to defend that city at its weakest point. The only weak point in the fortification of the southeast hill is the narrow neck which connects it with the Temple hill on the north. When we remember that Millo is identified by the LXX with the Akra which overlooked the Temple, it seems probable that we should regard it as a rampart which protected



Photograph by L. B. Paton

SITE OF THE CITY OF DAVID

the northern side of the City of David. Probably it was a wall of earth faced with stones, such as the excavations have disclosed in the city of Gezer of the same period. Such a rampart, constructed by filling in earth between two walls of stone, could be appropriately described as a Millo, or "filling." It could also easily be enlarged by later monarchs. The wall at Gezer has been strengthened by having a new face built and a new filling inserted between it and the old wall. In some such way David, Solomon, and Hezekiah may have built out the old Millo of the Canaanites.

2. *David's Wall*.—In the same passage which mentions the Millo (II Sam. 5:9) it is stated that "David built round about from Millo." This can only refer to a wall which inclosed the City of David. This wall began at the Millo—that is, the embankment—across the neck of land toward the north, and followed the eastern side of the southeast hill at some distance above the bed of the Kidron. At the southern end of the hill it stood on the top of the rocky cliff that rises above Siloam, and then followed the western side of the hill above the bed of the Tyropoeon Valley until it returned to the Millo. Traces of this wall and of the rock scarps that formed its foundation were discovered by Bliss on the southern and eastern sides of the southeast hill. No traces of a wall in the Tyropoeon Valley have yet been discovered.

3. *David's Palace*.—In II Sam. 5:9, 11, it is recorded that "David built him a house in the City of David" (in II Sam. 5:9, instead of the unintelligible words "and inward" of the Hebrew text, the LXX reads, "and his house"). Neh. 12:37 speaks of the procession of the Levites as coming up the steps of the City of David, and then passing the House of David on their way to the Water Gate which opened on the east side of the city above the spring Gihon. This indicates that the Palace stood on high ground at the north end of the City of David (cf. II Sam. 11:2). According to II Sam. 5:11 the Palace was built for David by Tyrian workmen sent him by Hiram, king of Tyre. The walls were built of stone, and it was roofed with cedar beams brought from the Lebanon (cf. II Sam. 7:2). The necessity of bringing Tyrian workmen shows that the native architecture of Israel was not advanced, and the mention of cedar wood as a curiosity indicates that the use of large beams in architecture was previously unknown. The royal palace is mentioned also in II Sam. 11:8, 9, 27; 15:16; 19:11, 30; 20:3.

4. *The Guard House*.—In Neh. 3:16 mention is made of the "House of the Heroes." This seems to have been a dwelling for the bodyguard, a list of whose names is given in II Sam. 23:8-39. In regard to the location of this building all that is known is that it stood in the City of David on the eastern hill.

5. *The Tent of the Ark*.—In II Sam. 6:10, 12, 17=II Chron. 1:4f. we are told that David prepared a sanctuary for the Ark in the City

of David. This is mentioned again in I Kings 2:28 and 8:4. This sanctuary was merely a tent, designed for the temporary accommodation of the Ark, and, consequently, no trace of its location survived in later times.

6. *The Tomb of David.*—II Kings 2:10 tells us that "David slept with his fathers and was buried in the City of David." This Sepulcher of the Kings is mentioned again in the case of Solomon (I Kings 11:43=II Chron. 9:31); Rehoboam (I Kings 14:31=II Chron. 12:16); Abijah (I Kings 15:8=II Chron. 14:1); Asa (I Kings 15:24=II Chron. 16:14); Jehoshaphat (I Kings 22:50=II Chron. 21:1); Jehoram (II Kings 8:24=II Chron. 21:20); Ahaziah (II Kings 9:28=II Chron. 22:9); Joash (II Kings 12:21=II Chron. 24:25); Amaziah (II Kings 14:20=II Chron. 25:28); Uzziah (II Kings 15:7=II Chron. 26:23); Jotham (II Kings 15:38=II Chron. 27:9); Ahaz (II Kings 16:20=II Chron. 28:27); Hezekiah (II Chron. 32:33). Chronicles differs from Kings in reporting Asa as buried "in his own sepulcher" instead of "with his fathers," and Jehoram and Joash as buried "in the City of David, but not in the Tombs of the Kings." According to the Chronicler, apparently, Ahaziah was buried at Samaria. The Book of Kings represents all the kings from David to Ahaz as having been buried with their fathers in the City of David.

Ezek. 43:7 speaks of the tombs of the kings as adjoining the wall of the Temple. Neh. 3:16 mentions "the sepulchers of David" after the Pool of Siloam and the stairs of the City of David, and before Ophel and the Water Gate. From these passages it is clear that the tombs of the kings lay on the southeastern hill near the Temple and royal residence. Clermont-Ganneau has suggested that the curious bend in the Siloam tunnel was designed to avoid these sepulchers, but Ezekiel's statement in regard to the nearness of the tombs to the Temple indicates a more northerly location. The course of the Siloam tunnel was probably due to a desire to keep near the surface of the ground, so that the workmen could inform themselves by shafts as to their whereabouts. Josephus states that the Sepulcher of David was opened and plundered by Hyrcanus (*Ant.*, xiii, 8:4; *War*, i, 2:5), and that Herod also opened the tomb and gained additional plunder (*Ant.*, xvi, 7:1). The Tomb of David is also

mentioned in Acts 2:29; but from none of these passages do we gain any light as to its precise location.

7. *David's Aqueducts*.—The only other constructions that can be traced back as far as the time of David are two channels for water that lead from the spring of Gihon. The first of these is a canal on the surface of the ground outside of the city wall, above the Valley of Kidron, that originally conducted the water of the spring to the Lower Pool of Siloam at the mouth of the Tyropoeon Valley. This channel must be older than the tunnel which Hezekiah constructed to bring water into the city, inasmuch as the tunnel was a substitute for it. Isa. 22:9 speaks of the Old Pool as in existence before Hezekiah's time, and by this doubtless means the Lower Pool of Siloam to which this aqueduct led.

Another channel cut in the rock leads to a well and subterranean passage opening inside of the city wall. This must be later than the channel outside of the city, since it was evidently designed as a substitute for it in time of siege. It must be older than Hezekiah's tunnel, since this is a more elaborate carrying-out of the same idea. Both the surface channel and the short tunnel are probably as old as the time of David, and may go back to the period of Canaanitish occupation. It has even been suggested that the "gutter" or "water-course" (II Sam. 5:8), through which Joab made his entrance into the stronghold was the passage leading to the short tunnel.

In regard to the extent of Jerusalem in the time of David we are in the same doubt that we are in regard to the extent of the Canaanitish city. The City of David, or Zion, certainly lay upon the eastern hill; but whether Jerusalem extended beyond this hill is uncertain. If the city of the Canaanites reached over to the western hill, then the Jerusalem of David was probably equally extensive. Even if the city of the Canaanites was limited to the eastern hill, it is possible that in the time of David Jerusalem began to expand. From II Sam. 5:6 f.; 24:18 f., it appears that David spared the lives of the Jebusites when he captured their stronghold, and that they remained settled in Jerusalem. Since he made the stronghold his residence and garrisoned it with Israelitish troops, it is not likely that the Jebusites were permitted to remain on the eastern hill. Probably, therefore, they were compelled to settle on the western hill. To this cir

cumstance may be due the name "Cliff of the Jebusites" which, according to Josh. 15:8 and 18:16, lay north of the Valley of Hinnom. The threshing-floor of Araunah the Jebusite, according to II Sam. 24:16, was the place where David saw the angel stand with his hand stretched forth toward Jerusalem to destroy it. The description suggests that the apparition appeared on the western hill over against the eastern hill where David's palace was located. Only in Chronicles is it stated that the threshing-floor of Araunah was the place on which the Temple was subsequently built, and this conception is evidently due to a desire to legitimize the site of the Temple.

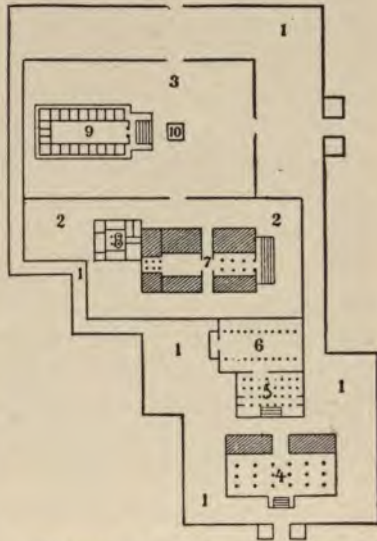
II Sam. 14:28 states that Absalom dwelt two full years in Jerusalem and saw not the king's face. If the Jerusalem of David was limited to the small area of the southeast hill, it is difficult to see how Absalom could reside there without coming into contact with his father. If, however, the city extended to the western hill, he might be banished from the palace-quarter and still reside in the capital. I Chron. 11:8 adds to the statement of II Sam. 5:9, that "David built round about from Millo," the words: "and Joab caused the rest of the city to live." This indicates belief on the part of the Chronicler that Jerusalem in the time of David was more extensive than the City of David. Josephus (*War*, v, 4:1) states that the Upper City was taken by David as well as the Lower City, and that it was called by him the *Phrourion*, or "fortress." On the whole, the evidence seems favorable to the idea that settlements on the western hill were in existence as early as the time of David, but there is no evidence that the western hill was inclosed with a wall at this early date. The fact that no buildings on the western hill are mentioned indicates that this region was still unprotected.

CHAPTER VII

SOLOMON'S BUILDINGS

With Solomon a new building era began in Jerusalem. David left a united kingdom and the neighboring nations reduced to tribute, so that Solomon was free to indulge his splendor-loving tastes. His entire reign was devoted to the enlargement and beautification of his capital. The following structures are ascribed to him by the Book of Kings:

1. *The Temple*.—According to I Kings 3:1 ff.; chaps. 5-8; 9:1, 10, 15, Solomon built a new sanctuary for the Ark in place of the tent that his father had pitched on Mount Zion. The location of this Temple is certain. It stood on the same site as Herod's Temple, and Herod's Temple stood on the summit of the eastern hill of Jerusalem. The Şakhra, or "rock," under the dome of the Mosque of Omar, marks the location of the Altar of Herod's Temple and also of Solomon's Temple. The House, or Sanctuary, stood on high ground west of the Altar. The name *D'bhîr*, which is used for the Holy of Holies, means properly "west," which shows that the holiest place lay at the west end of the Temple. This is also evident from Ezek. 8:16, where twenty-five men worshiping the rising sun stand



GROUND PLAN OF SOLOMON'S BUILDINGS (After Benzinger)

1. Great Court; 2. Other Court; 3. Court of the Temple; 4. House of the Forest of Lebanon; 5. Porch of Pillars; 6. Porch of Judgment; 7. King's House; 8. House of Pharaoh's Daughter; 9. Temple; 10. Altar.

between the Porch and the Altar, with their backs toward the Temple and their faces toward the east. Accordingly, Solomon's Temple must have stood on the site of the present inner platform west of the *Ḳubbet-eş-Şakhra* or Mosque of Omar.

The *Hêkâl*, or House, was 60 cubits long, 20 cubits broad, and 30 cubits high according to I Kings 6:2. From I Kings 6:16 and the



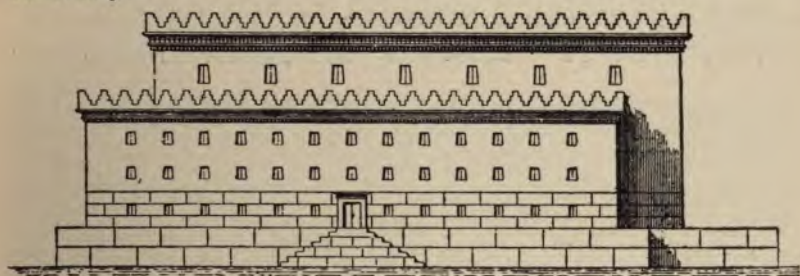
Photograph by Ponfils

THE SAKHRA, THE SITE OF SOLOMON'S ALTAR

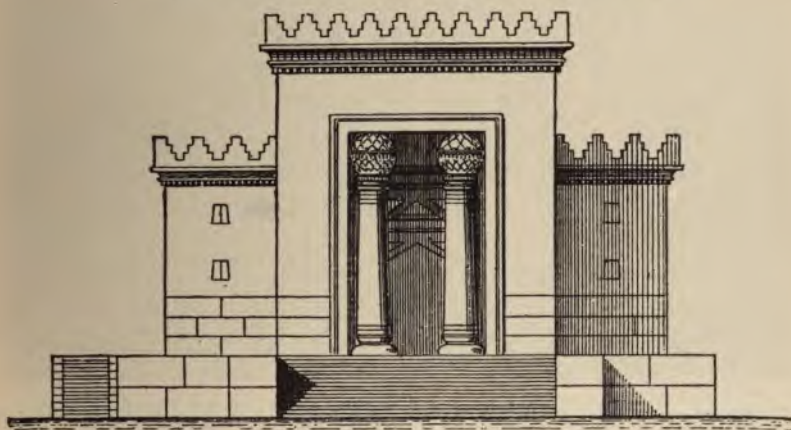
statements of Ezekiel it appears that these are inside measurements. This space was divided by a partition into two rooms—one 40×20 cubits, the Holy Place, and the other 20×20 cubits, the *D'bhâr*, or Holy of Holies. The thickness of the inclosing walls is not given in the Book of Kings. Ezekiel, who patterns his Temple on the model of Solomon's Temple, says that the walls are to be 6 cubits thick at the base.

On the east end of the Sanctuary stood a Porch, the inside measurements of which were 20×10 cubits (I Kings 6:3). The length

was thus the same as the breadth of the Sanctuary. The Book of Kings does not give the height of this Porch, but Chronicles says that it was 120 cubits. This is an incredible proportion, and it is probable that its height was 30 cubits, the same as that of the Sanctuary.



SOLOMON'S TEMPLE, SOUTH ELEVATION (After Stade)



SOLOMON'S TEMPLE, EAST ELEVATION (After Stade)

On the north, west, and south the Temple was surrounded with three stories of chambers, but these did not encompass the east side, where the Porch stood. Each story was 5 cubits high, so that the three tiers reached a height of 15 cubits, or half the height of the Temple. There was thus a space between the roof of the chambers and the roof of the Temple that was used for clearstory windows (I Kings 6:4). The structure as a whole must thus have borne a rude resemblance to a Gothic church, with nave and aisles, the most important

difference being that all the roofs were flat. In regard to the breadth of the wings Kings gives us no information, but in Ezekiel's Temple the chambers were 5, 6, and 7 cubits broad in the successive stories. The greater breadth of the upper stories was due to the fact that there was a rebatement of half a cubit in both walls at each story, on which to rest the ends of the beams that supported the floors.

The Temple was surrounded with a Court, which, in I Kings 6:36;



Photograph by Souffls

SITE OF INNER COURT OF SOLOMON'S TEMPLE

7:12, is called the Inner Court, to distinguish it from the Great, or Outer, Court that inclosed all of Solomon's buildings. In Jer. 36:10 it is called the Upper Court because it stood on a higher level on the top of the hill. Unlike the Temple of Zerubbabel and the Temple of Herod, Solomon's Sanctuary had only one inclosing court. Not until the time of Ezekiel was there any idea of a special sanctity of the priests that demanded that they should have a court of their own into which ordinary Israelites might not enter. From II Kings 12:9-12 and Jer. 35:1 ff.; 36:10, it appears that in pre-exilic times

laymen had free access to the Inner Court. When II Kings 23:12 speaks of "the two courts of the House of Yahweh," it does not mean that there was a court of the priests and a court of Israelites, such as existed in the second Temple, but refers only to the Inner Court and the Great Court. The Inner Court, according to I Kings 6:36; 7:12, had a wall of three courses of hewn stones and a structure of cedar beams on the top. In regard to its size and shape nothing is said.

No gates of the Inner Court are mentioned in the narrative of the building of the Temple, but II Kings 15:35 speaks of an Upper Gate of the House of Yahweh, and Jeremiah and Ezekiel make frequent mention of gates. It is probable that the gates which existed in the time of Jeremiah were the same as those originally constructed by Solomon (cf. Jer. 7:2; 22:2-4). From Jer. 52:24=II Kings 25:18 it appears that there were three keepers of the thresholds of the House of Yahweh. This indicates that there were three gates to the Temple. These would naturally be on the north, south, and east sides, since on the west was the Holy of Holies, which no one but the high-priest was permitted to enter.

In II Kings 15:35=II Chron. 27:3 we are told that Jotham built the Upper Gate to the Temple (cf. II Chron. 23:20). From Jer. 20:2; 37:13, it appears that the Upper Gate was identical with the Gate of Benjamin, and from Ezek. 8:3, 14; 9:2 it appears that this gate was in the north wall of the Inner Court (cf. Zech. 14:10). In Jer. 26:10; 36:10 this Upper, or North, or Benjamin Gate is called the New Gate. This is, apparently, an allusion to the fact that it was rebuilt by Jotham; but it does not show that it was not in existence in the time of Solomon, since there must always have been some access to the Temple from the north. In Ezek. 8:5 it is called the Altar Gate, because it gave easiest access to the Altar. In Ezek. 46:9 it is described as the chief entrance of the proposed second Temple. This, perhaps, throws some light on its importance in pre-exilic times. Neh. 12:39 speaks of it as the Sheep Gate. This corresponds with Ezekiel's designation of it as the Altar Gate. It was the opening through which victims were commonly brought.

There must always have been a South Gate leading from the Temple to the court of the Palace, although this is not expressly

king and the princes could be summoned quickly in case of any disturbance arising in the Inner Court. Ezek. 43:8 says: "They shall no more defile my name . . . through setting their threshold by my threshold and their doorpost by my doorpost and there was but the wall between me and them."

The Palace cannot have been adjacent to the Temple on the north, because the north quarter was not inclosed until a time long after Solomon. The hill was so narrow that there was no room for a building east or west of the Temple Court; consequently, if the Palace adjoined the Temple, it must have lain immediately south of it. With this agree numerous passages that show that the Palace was higher than the City of David and lower than the Temple. In I Kings 8:1 the Ark is "brought up" out of the City of David, and in 9:24 Pharaoh's daughter "goes up" from the City of David to the Palace. In I Kings 8:4; 10:5; and Jer. 26:10 people "come up" from the Palace to the Temple, and in II Kings 11:19 and Jer. 22:1 they "go down" from the Temple to the Palace. In Mic. 4:8 Ophel of daughter Zion is described as the seat of government. This indicates that the Palace lay on the hill of Ophel, south of the Temple inclosure. The view of Thenius and Furrer, that Solomon's Palace was situated on the western hill, is thus seen to be contrary to all the biblical evidence. It is also contradicted by archaeology, since no substructures of great buildings have been found on the western hill. If the Palace had stood on this hill, it would have been impossible to speak of going up from it to the Temple, since this hill was considerably higher than the east hill on which the Temple stood.

Five buildings are named that stood within the Palace inclosure: the House of the Forest of Lebanon, the Porch of Pillars, the Porch of Judgment, Solomon's House, and the House of Pharaoh's Daughter. The natural configuration of the hill shows that these buildings must have stood in a line running from northwest to southeast and descending in terraces toward the south. The crest of the hill was so narrow that platforms had to be built up to support the courts and buildings. I Kings 7:10-12 speaks of "great stones, costly stones" that were used in the foundations; and they are also mentioned by Josephus in *Ant.*, viii, 3:2. Ezekiel's statement that the House

of the King joined the House of Yahweh (43:8) shows that the order of the buildings in I Kings 7:2-8 is from south to north. This is the order in which they would be traversed by one going up from the City of David to the Temple.

South of the Temple Court was Solomon's private residence, which I Kings 7:8*a* calls "his house where he might dwell." Adjacent to this, probably on the west, was the House of Pharaoh's Daughter, or Harem (I King 7:8*b*; 9:24). These two buildings were surrounded by a court, which in I Kings 7:8 is called the Other Court, to distinguish it from the Inner Court which surrounded the Temple. In II Kings 20:4 this is called the Middle Court, because it lay between the Inner Court and the Great Court. In Jer. 32:2 it is called the Court of the Guard, because in it were stationed the royal guards (cf. II Kings 11:5, 19; II Chron. 23:5; Neh. 12:39, where the gate that led from this court into the Temple Court is called the Gate of the Guard). In Neh. 3:25 it is described as the "Court of the Guard that is by the tower that stands out from the Upper House of the King." The north wall of the Middle Court was the same as the south wall of the Inner Court. According to I Kings 7:8 the structure of the entire wall of this court was similar to that of the Temple Court.

South of the Middle or Palace Court stood the Porch of Judgment (I Kings 7:7), which served as an audience chamber for the king. No particulars are given in regard to its dimensions or appearance. In I Kings 10:18-20 it is said to have contained Solomon's throne of ivory and gold. Adjacent to it on the south stood the Porch of Pillars (I Kings 7:6), which measured 50×30 cubits. Apparently it served as a sort of anteroom to the throneroom in which Solomon held audience. The southernmost building was the House of the Forest of Lebanon, which is described in I Kings 7:2-5. This was 100 cubits long by 50 broad. Its roof was supported by forty-five pillars of cedar wood in three rows of fifteen each. According to I Kings 10:16 f.; Isa. 22:8 (cf. 39:2 = II Kings 20:13), this building was used as a royal armory. The name "House of the Forest of Lebanon" was given on account of the cedar trunks that formed its pillars. The old idea that it was located in Mount Lebanon and served as a summer residence for the kings (cf. I Kings 9:19) is con-

tradicted by I Kings 7:12, which puts it into the complex on the Temple hill, and by 10:16 f., which shows that the shields borne before the king were kept in it.

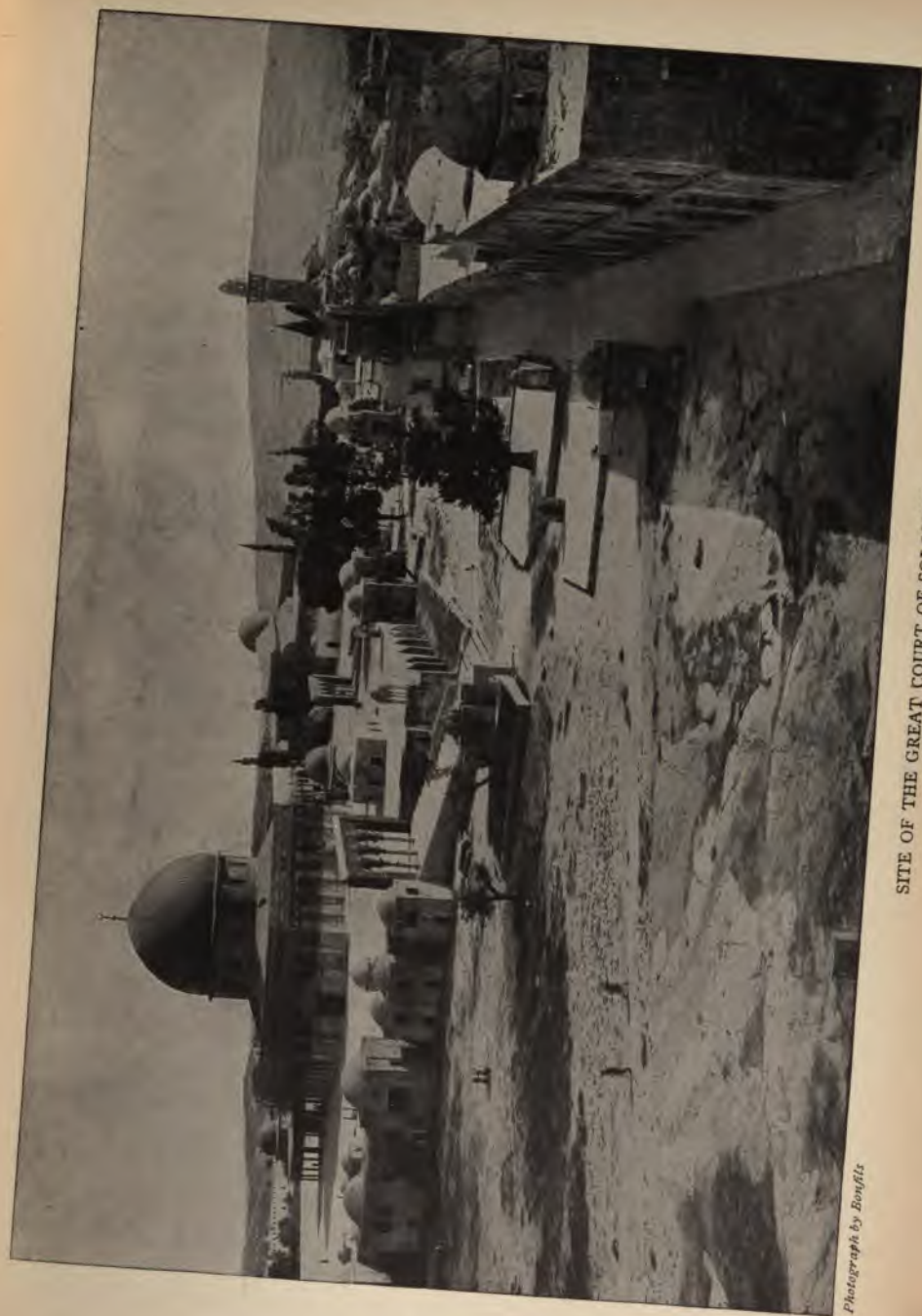
The last three buildings, as well as the Inner and the Middle Courts, were included in the Outer Court, or the Great Court, which surrounded all of Solomon's buildings (I Kings 7:12). This was



Photograph by Bouffis

SITE OF THE HOUSE OF THE FOREST OF LEBANON

inclosed with a wall of three layers of hewn stone, on top of which was a structure of cedar beams. In regard to its gates we have little information. There must have been a North Gate corresponding to the North Gate of the Inner Court. Apparently the two openings were regarded as forming a single gate, and one name served for them both. There must also have been an East Gate corresponding to the East Gate of the Inner Court, and a South Gate leading to the City of David. These, however, are never mentioned. In II Kings 11:16=II Chron. 23:15 we read of the Horse Gate. Jer. 31:40



Photograph by Bonfils

SITE OF THE GREAT COURT OF SOLOMON

locates this near a corner of the city on the east. Neh. 3:28 shows that it lay on Ophel over against the Temple. Josephus (*Ant.*, ix, 7:3) suggests that it opened upon the Valley of Kidron. Accordingly, it must have been situated near the southeast corner of the Temple inclosure. Its name shows that it was the gate through which the chariots and horses of the king gained access to the open country.

3. *Millo*.—In I Kings 9:15; 11:27, it is stated that "Solomon built Millo and closed up the break in the city of David his father." Since Millo was already in existence in the time of David, and was used by him as part of his fortification, this statement must mean merely that Solomon strengthened Millo. Probably the rampart which had served as the northern defense of the City of David was used by him as the southern defense of the new palace-quarter which he built on Ophel.

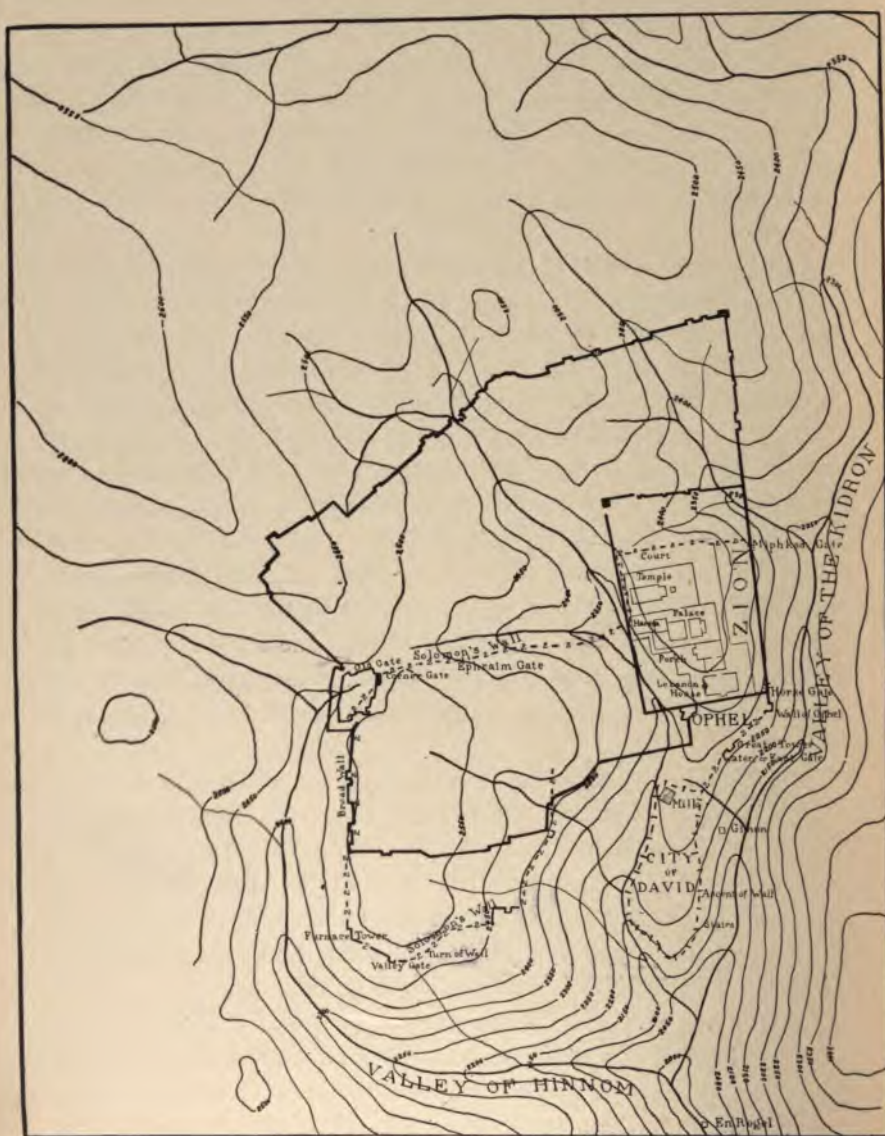
CHAPTER VIII

SOLOMON'S WALL

In II Sam. 5:9 we are told that David built the wall of the City of David. In I Kings 3:1 we are told that Solomon built the wall of Jerusalem round about (cf. 9:15). This indicates that "Jerusalem" is a larger idea than "City of David." Nowhere is it said that David inclosed Jerusalem, nor that Solomon increased the area of the City of David. This wall of Solomon cannot be identified with the outer wall of the Great Court of the Temple, since that is included in the building of the Temple that is also mentioned in these passages, and since such a wall could not be called "the wall of Jerusalem." It cannot have been a new wall on the east, since additional fortification in that direction was unnecessary, and since in the time of Hezekiah Jerusalem was still touched on that side by the fields of Kidron (II Kings 23:4). The new wall, therefore, must have inclosed the western hill, which was the only direction in which the city could expand.

Additional evidence in favor of this view is found in the statement of I Kings 3:1, that Solomon brought Pharaoh's daughter into the City of David, until he had made an end of building his own house, and the house of the Lord, and the wall of Jerusalem round about. This implies that the City of David was the only fortified place until the wall of Jerusalem was built; but after it was finished, it was possible for his wife to leave the City of David.

In I Kings 8:1=II Chron. 5:2 we are told: "Then Solomon assembled the elders of Israel, and all the heads of the tribes, the princes of the fathers' houses of the children of Israel, unto king Solomon in Jerusalem, to bring up the ark of the covenant of the Lord out of the City of David, which is Zion." Here Jerusalem is contrasted with the City of David. The City of David is the place where the Ark has been kept; it is to be brought up out of this but it is still to remain in Jerusalem.



THE CITY OF SOLOMON

In II Kings 14:13=II Chron. 25:23 we read that Jehoash, king of Israel, after his defeat of Amaziah, king of Judah, "broke down the wall of Jerusalem from the Gate of Ephraim unto the Corner

Gate four hundred cubits." The wall thus broken down must have been the northern wall, since this was most accessible to the king of Israel, and since this was the weakest side of the city. The name "Gate of Ephraim" also suggests a northern location, inasmuch as Ephraim lay to the north of Jerusalem. This wall cannot have been the wall of the Temple, since the northern gate of the Temple was known as the Gate of Benjamin (cf. Jer. 20:2; 37:13), and since no Corner Gate of the Temple is mentioned. The distance, 400 cubits, between the Gate of Ephraim and the Corner Gate is also greater than the distance from the Gate of Benjamin to the corner of the Temple. Moreover, the king of Israel would not have been likely to desecrate the Temple; and if he had been rash enough to do so, this fact would have been mentioned by the historian. Consequently, we must look for the Gate of Ephraim and the Corner Gate north of the west hill, rather than north of the east hill. The Corner Gate must have lain somewhere near the modern Jaffa Gate, and the Gate of Ephraim midway between it and the west wall of the Temple. In that case the west hill of Jerusalem must have been inclosed as early as the time of Amaziah; and since no building operations are recorded, or are likely, between the time of Solomon and that of Hezekiah, it is safe to infer that Solomon's wall included the west hill.

II Kings 9:28 narrates of Ahaziah: "And his servants carried him in a chariot to Jerusalem and buried him in his sepulcher with his fathers in the City of David." II Kings 14:20 states of Amaziah: "And he was buried at Jerusalem with his fathers in the City of David." In these passages the City of David seems to be distinguished from Jerusalem as a part from the whole.

Isa. 10:12 speaks of "Zion and Jerusalem." Jerusalem, accordingly, cannot be identical with Zion or the eastern hill, but must also include the western hill. Isa. 10:32 speaks of "the mount of the daughter of Zion, the hill of Jerusalem." Here, apparently, the eastern hill is described as a part of the city of Jerusalem. Isa. 22:9,10 contrasts Jerusalem with the City of David. Isa. 30:19 speaks of the people that dwell "in Zion in Jerusalem." If the text be correct, this indicates that Zion was a quarter of Jerusalem; and even if the reading "Zion and Jerusalem" be adopted, a distinction is still made between the two names.

* Jer. 51:35 reads: "The violence done to me and to my flesh be upon Babylon, shall the inhabitant of Zion say; and, My blood be upon the inhabitants of Chaldea, shall Jerusalem say." Here Zion is put in poetic parallelism with Babylon, and Jerusalem with Chaldea. We infer from this that Zion bore to Jerusalem the same relation of part to whole that Babylon did to Chaldea. The number of people carried captive by Nebuchadrezzar (Jer. 52:30) is inconsistent with the idea that Jerusalem was limited to the east hill down to the time of the exile. Zech. 1:14 speaks of Jerusalem and Zion as though they were distinct from one another. In Neh. 3:15; 12:37, the City of David is clearly not synonymous with Jerusalem, but is merely a quarter that is used, like other landmarks, to describe the course of the wall.

Neh. 2:13 states that Nehemiah set out at the Valley Gate and rode down toward the Dragon's Well and the Dung Gate and viewed the walls of Jerusalem which were broken down. II Chron. 26:9 states that "Uzziah built towers in Jerusalem at the Corner Gate, and at the Valley Gate, and at the turning of the wall and fortified them." The Valley Gate can only be the gate opening into the *Gai*, the Valley of Hinnom. If, as we have seen, the Valley of Hinnom must be identified with Wâdy er-Rabâbi, then the Valley Gate must have been located somewhere on the western hill. In that case the pre-exilic wall of Jerusalem inclosed the west hill.

Neh. 3:9, 12 speaks of the "ruler of half the district of Jerusalem." The division of Jerusalem into two districts suggests that it lay upon the western as well as the eastern hill. Isa. 24:23; Zech. 12:10; 13:1; Joel 2:32, distinguish between Jerusalem and Zion or the City of David. I Chron. 8:32 and 9:38 describe certain priests as dwelling "in Jerusalem over against their brethren." Most of the priests dwelt in Ophel on the eastern hill, and the description "over against" suggests that these other priests were settled on the western hill. In II Chron. 28:27 we read: "And Ahaz slept with his fathers, and they buried him in the city, even in Jerusalem; for they brought him not into the sepulchers of the kings of Israel." Here Jerusalem is clearly distinguished from the City of David. Ahaz was not buried in the tombs of the kings on the eastern hill, and yet he was buried in Jerusalem. II Chron. 33:15 distinguishes between the

mount of the house of the Lord and Jerusalem. The same is true of I Macc. 10:10 f.; 16:20. Josephus' description of the city of Solomon in *Ant.*, viii, 2:1; 6:1; 7:7, indicates his belief that this city occupied the west hill as well as the east. Accordingly, there appears to be a considerable body of evidence, extending from the earliest times down to Josephus, that indicates that the wall of Solomon included the western hill. The view of W. Robertson Smith, presented by George Adam Smith in *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, art. "Jerusalem," that Jerusalem was limited to the eastern hill down to the time of the Hasmoneans, is accordingly to be rejected as untenable.

In regard to the course of Solomon's wall we are dependent upon Josephus' account of the inner wall in his own day. This is described in *War*, v, 4:2, as follows:

Now that wall began on the north at the tower called Hippicus, and extended as far as the Xystus, as it was called; then, joining the Council-House, ended at the west cloister of the Temple. On the other side at the west, beginning at the same place, it extended through a place called Bethso, to the Gate of the Essenes; then, on the south, it made a curve past the fountain of Siloam, after which it also bent again on the east at Solomon's Pool, and reached as far as a certain place which they called Ophel, where it joined the eastern cloister of the Temple.

In this description Josephus starts with the tower called Hippicus and goes eastward toward the Temple; then he returns to Hippicus and goes southward around the west hill toward Siloam. This shows that Hippicus stood at the northwest corner of the inner city. The same conclusion is necessitated by the description in *War*, v, 4:3, 4. These passages lead us to look for Hippicus at a point near the Jaffa Gate in the west wall of the present city. Here two valleys—one running south, the other running east—meet; and here was the natural northwest corner of the ancient city. From Hippicus the wall ran eastward to the west cloister of the Temple. It must, therefore, have followed the brow of the hill above the west arm of the Tyropoeon. There is general agreement that this first wall on the north, which Josephus ascribes to the ancient kings of Judah, is to be identified with the wall built by Solomon. The only remains that have survived in the heart of the modern city are the Tower of Phasaëlus, or "Tower of David," and certain rock scarps that underlie the foundations of houses south of the modern David Street. From

Hippicus the wall also ran southward and turned around the end of the western hill. In the grounds of the Protestant Boys' School and the Protestant Cemetery south of the present city wall great rock-cuttings are still visible, which are recognized by nearly all



Photograph by Bonfil

TOWER PHASAËLUS, NOW CALLED "TOWER OF DAVID"

topographers as having formed the foundations of the old south city wall.

At a point east of the Protestant Cemetery two lines of fortification have been traced by Dr. Frederick Bliss.¹ One of these follows the eastern slope of the western hill in a northeasterly direction; the other runs in a southeasterly direction along the south slope of the western hill to the Pool of Siloam. The latter is the course of the

¹ *Excavations in Jerusalem.*

wall described by Josephus; but the inner wall is clearly more ancient, since the outer wall must have been built after an increase of population demanded the addition of a greater area to the city. Probably, therefore, Solomon's wall followed the inner line around the eastern side of the western hill, and then crossed the Tyropoeon near the point where it is crossed by the present city wall, thus joining the



Photograph by L. B. Paton

ROCK SCARP SOUTH OF PROTESTANT SCHOOL

western wall of Ophel. The upper level was more defensible, and it is not likely that the difficult task of constructing a wall down the steep Valley of Hinnom to the mouth of the Tyropoeon would have been undertaken until the inclosure of this region was rendered necessary by a great increase of population.

The wall of Solomon cannot have included the Lower Pool of Siloam, because, if that had been the case, Hezekiah would not have found it necessary to build a new pool higher up to contain the water that was brought down through the Siloam tunnel. The upper line of wall is also suggested by the statement of II Chron. 26:9

that Uzziah built a tower at the turn of the wall. This implies that the wall on the western hill did not originally run straight to Siloam, as was the case in the time of Josephus, but that it made a bend, as the inner wall does, around the southern end of the western hill.

The fortunes of Judah were at a low ebb during the period between Solomon and Hezekiah and no important building operations are recorded; consequently we must hold that all the gates mentioned during this period were situated in the wall of Solomon.

1. *The Gate of Benjamin.*—In II Kings 15:35=II Chron. 27:3 it is stated that Jotham rebuilt the Upper Gate of the Temple (cf. II Chron. 23:20). In Jer. 20:2 it is stated that Pashhur, the captain of the Temple, put Jeremiah into the stocks in the Upper Gate of Benjamin in the house of Yahweh. This shows that the Upper Gate was identical with the Gate of Benjamin. This gate is again mentioned in Jer. 37:13, where we are told: "When he was in the Gate of Benjamin, a captain of the ward was there . . . and he laid hold on Jeremiah the prophet." Jeremiah's home was in Anathoth, the modern Anata, which lies north of Jerusalem, and his most natural way of reaching it would have been through one of the northern gates of the city. In Jer. 38:7 we read that the king was sitting in the Gate of Benjamin, and Ebedmelech went out of the king's house and spoke to the king. This implies that the Gate of Benjamin lay near to the Palace. Ezek. 9:2 describes it as "the Upper Gate, which lieth toward the north" (cf. 8:3, 14). Zech. 14:10 says: "Jerusalem shall be lifted up, and shall dwell in her place from Benjamin's Gate unto the place of the First Gate, unto the Corner Gate." This implies that the Gate of Benjamin lay on the opposite side of the city from the Corner Gate. The Corner Gate, as we shall see presently, was situated near the modern Jaffa Gate. From these passages it is clear that the Gate of Benjamin lay in the north wall of the Temple inclosure, which was at the same time the north wall of Solomon's city.

2. *The Gate of Ephraim.*—In II Kings 14:13=II Chron. 25:23 we are told that Jehoash, king of Israel, after his successful war with Amaziah, king of Judah, "broke down the wall of Jerusalem from the Gate of Ephraim to the Corner Gate four hundred cubits."

Jehoash came from the north, and since the city was most

accessible on its northern side, we must infer that the Gate of Ephraim lay in the north wall. This is also implied in the name; the Gate of Ephraim can only mean the gate through which one passes to go to the land of Ephraim. As we have just seen, the gate north of the Temple was known as the Upper Gate, or Gate of Benjamin, and no corner gate of the Temple is ever mentioned; consequently, we must assume that the Gate of Ephraim and the Corner Gate both lay in the wall north of the western hill.

This gate is mentioned in Neh. 8:16, where we read of "the broad place of the Gate of Ephraim;" and in Neh. 12:39, where it is stated that the second company of Levites went from the Broad Wall past the Gate of Ephraim and over the Old Gate. This statement is often interpreted as indicating that the Gate of Ephraim lay in the west wall, so that it still remained one of the city gates after the second wall on the north had been built; but the passage does not state that the Levites passed *over* the Gate of Ephraim, as our English version suggests. The Hebrew word is מַעַל, which means "over against." The same expression is used of the passing of the House of David by the Levites in Neh. 12:37. All that this passage indicates, accordingly, is that the Levites, going along the west wall of the city, and then along the second wall on the north, passed by the old Gate of Ephraim, which was on their right in the heart of the city.

3. *The Corner Gate.*—The Corner Gate is mentioned in the same passage with the Gate of Ephraim (II Kings 14:13 = II Chron. 25:23), where it is stated that "Jehoash broke down the wall of Jerusalem from the Gate of Ephraim to the Corner Gate four hundred cubits." In II Chron. 26:9 it is stated; "Moreover Uzziah built towers in Jerusalem at the Corner Gate, and at the Valley Gate and at the turning of the wall." The name "Corner Gate" indicates that it stood at a corner of the ancient city. Since there was no corner gate of the Temple, and since the Gate of Ephraim must be sought in the north wall, the Corner Gate can be located only at the north-west corner of the old city—that is, substantially on the site of the modern Jaffa Gate. In Jer. 31:38 it is predicted: "Behold the days come, saith the Lord, that the city shall be built to the Lord from the Tower of Hananel unto the Gate of the Corner." The Tower of Hananel stood at the northeast corner of the new city, and

the Corner Gate is mentioned as lying opposite to it at the northwest corner.

4. *The Valley Gate.*—The Valley Gate is mentioned in II Chron. 26:9, where we are told that "Uzziah built towers in Jerusalem at the Corner Gate and at the Valley Gate, and at the turning of the



Photograph by H. G. Mitchell

REMAINS OF THE VALLEY GATE

wall." Since the Corner Gate lay at the northwest corner of the city of Solomon, the Valley Gate must have lain south of this in the west or south wall. The name "Valley Gate" indicates that it opened upon the *gai*, or Valley of Hinnom. Hinnom, as we have seen, cannot be identified with either the Wâdy Sitti Maryam or El-Wâd, but can be identified only with Wâdy er-Rabâbi, the valley on the west side of the city. At the point where the Wâdy er-Rabâbi changes its

course from a southerly to an easterly direction, Dr. Frederick Bliss discovered, on the southwest slope of the western hill, the remains of an ancient gate. This is probably to be identified with the Valley Gate of the Old Testament. It lay at the junction of the inner wall on the south side of the western hill with the outer wall; and, consequently, it was a gate both of the old inner city and of the later outer city that was formed by the addition of the second wall on the south.

This agrees with the fact that we meet this gate, not only in the fortifications of Uzziah, but also in those of Nehemiah. In Neh. 2:13-15 the governor sets out from the Valley Gate to inspect the ruined walls of Jerusalem:

And I went out by night by the Valley Gate, even toward the Dragon's Well, and to the Dung Gate, and viewed the walls of Jerusalem, which were broken down, and the gates thereof were consumed with fire. Then I went on to the Fountain Gate and to the King's Pool: but there was no place for the beast that was under me to pass. Then went I up in the night by the Brook, and viewed the wall; and I turned back, and entered the Valley Gate, and so returned.

From this it appears that Nehemiah started at the Valley Gate, rode down to Siloam, up the Kidron Valley and then around the north wall back to the Valley Gate. All this agrees with the view that the Valley Gate was situated at the southwest corner of the city. According to Neh. 3:13, the Valley Gate lay between the Furnace Tower, which is probably to be identified with Maudslay's scarp near the southwest corner of the modern city, and the Pool of Siloam.

The view of Schick,² that the Valley Gate is to be identified with the modern Jaffa Gate, is impossible, because in II Chron. 26:9 the Valley Gate is distinguished from the Corner Gate which must have stood where the Jaffa Gate now stands, and because the identification of the Valley Gate with the Jaffa Gate will compel us to put the Old Gate of Neh. 12:39 in the new north wall of the city, whereas its name indicates that it must have lain in the old wall. Moreover, this leaves too great a distance between the Valley Gate and the Dung Gate, which lay at the southern extremity of the city. According to Neh. 3:13, it was 1,000 cubits from the Valley Gate; this corresponds with the location of the Valley Gate at the southwest corner of the city, but not with its location at the northwest corner.

² *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, Vol. XIII, pp. 31 ff.



5. *The Turning of the Wall.*—II Chron. 26:9 mentions the Turning of the Wall in immediate connection with the Corner Gate. The name implies that there was a marked change in the course of the wall at this point. It may naturally be identified with the bend of the inner wall discovered by Bliss on the eastern side of the western hill. The fact that it is not mentioned in any of the later descriptions of the wall also indicates that it lay inside of the second



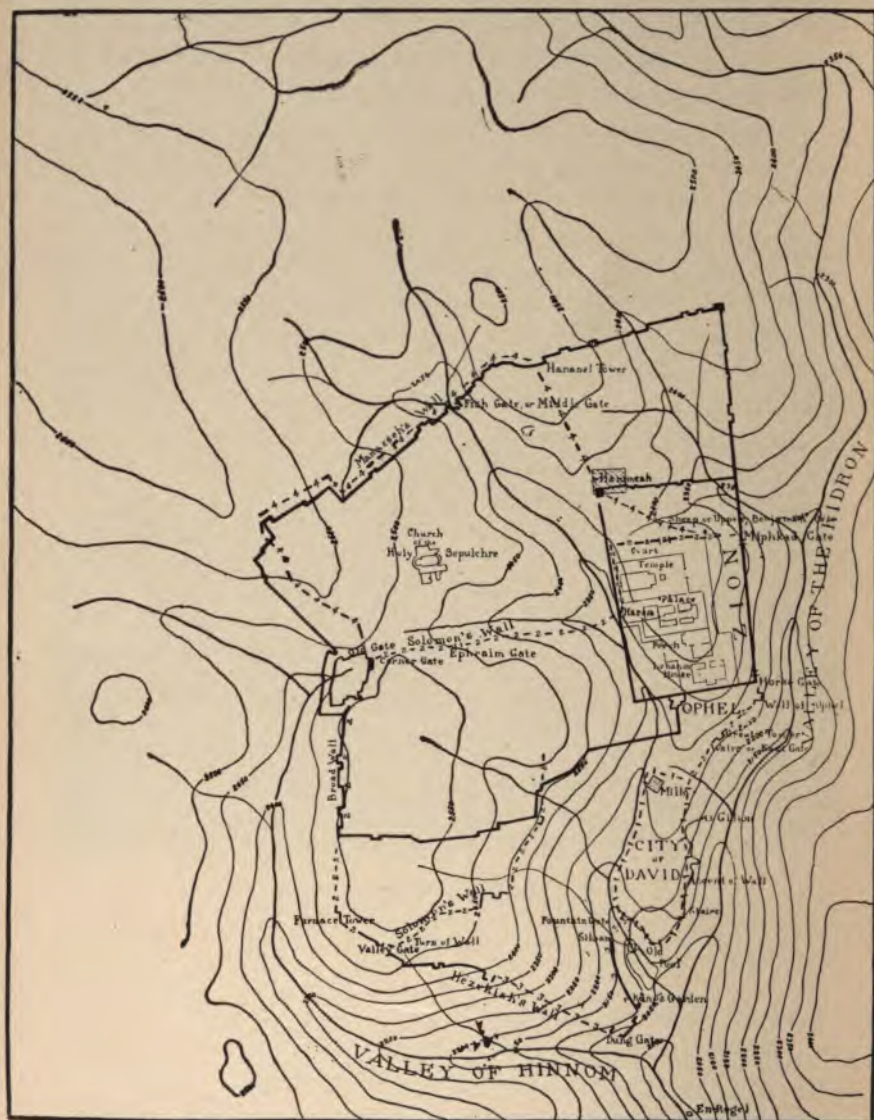
Photograph by L. B. Paton

ROCK SCARP MARKING TURNING OF INNER WALL

line of fortifications that ran from the Valley Gate to the Pool of Siloam.

6. *The Horse Gate.*—II Kings 11:16=II Chron. 23:15, in describing the downfall of Athaliah, states: "And she went by the way of the horses' entry to the king's house." This shows that the Horse Gate was one of the exits from the Palace, which lay on Ophel south of the Temple. It cannot have been the gate leading from the Palace into the Temple, since Athaliah was seeking to escape from the Temple. It must then have been one of the gates in the outer wall of the city; and since the eastern wall was the only one near to the palace,

it must have been in the eastern wall. Jer. 31:40 necessitates the same view: "And the whole valley of the dead bodies, and of the ashes, and all the fields unto the brook Kidron, unto the corner of the Horse Gate toward the east, shall be holy unto the Lord." Here it is distinctly stated that the corner of the Horse Gate was eastward. Neh. 3:28 describes the Horse Gate as lying on Ophel opposite to the Temple. It was repaired by the priests who dwelt in Ophel. Josephus (*Ant.*, ix, 7:3) describes this gate as opening upon the Valley of Kidron. Accordingly, it is evident that the Horse Gate is to be placed in the east wall near the southeast corner of the modern city.



THE WALLS OF HEZEKIAH AND MANASSEH

CHAPTER IX

JERUSALEM UNDER HEZEKIAH AND MANASSEH

After the death of Solomon Jerusalem does not seem to have received any enlargement for nearly two hundred years. The division of the kingdom so weakened Judah that it was scarcely able to hold what it already possessed, let alone to attempt expansion. Jehoshaphat and his successors seem to have been mere vassals of the powerful dynasty of Omri. They are never mentioned in the inscriptions of Shalmaneser II, which probably indicates that Judah was regarded by the Assyrians as a part of Israel. The attempt of Amaziah to throw off the yoke of Israel was unsuccessful, and after Jehoash had broken down the north wall of Jerusalem, the city was reduced to an even more helpless condition than before.

It was not until the northern kingdom began to decline after the death of Jeroboam II, in 744 B. C., that the fortunes of Judah revived. Israel was rent by civil war, and was attacked both by Damascus and by Assyria, so that during this period Judah was able to declare her independence. Uzziah is the first king after Solomon of whom any building operations are recorded (cf. II Chron. 26:9 ff.; and Josephus, *Ant.*, ix, 10:3). His son Jotham, according to II Chron. 27:3, "built the Upper Gate of the House of the Lord, and on the wall of Ophel he built much." Josephus (*Ant.*, ix, 11:2) ascribes to him even greater activity. Of neither of these kings is it stated that they enlarged the area of the city. We must suppose that their work was limited to repairing or strengthening the wall, so that down to the time of Hezekiah the city remained the same as it had been in the days of Solomon. Under Hezekiah and Manasseh, however, new walls were built; and consequently their reigns mark a new period in the architectural history of the city.

Shortly before the beginning of the reign of Hezekiah the northern kingdom was destroyed, and Judah was left the sole inheritor of

This is the oldest Hebrew inscription that has come down to us. Its writing corresponds to that of the Mesha inscription, and there is general agreement that it is as early as the time of Hezekiah. It reads as follows:

The tunnel. And this was the construction of the tunnel. While yet . . . the pick of one was over against the pick of the other, and while yet three cubits remained to be . . . , the voice of one called to the other; for there was a *zdh* in the rock on the right hand and on the left. And on the day of the tunnel the quarrymen struck each to meet the other, pick against pick. And the water went from the outflow of the pool, one thousand two hundred cubits. And one hundred cubits was the height of the rock over the head of the quarrymen.

No other aqueduct near the city can claim such antiquity as this, and the fact that it empties into a new pool, designed as a substitute for the Lower Pool, also favors identification with the conduit of King Hezekiah.

II Kings 18:17 speaks of Sennacherib's messengers to Hezekiah as standing by the conduit of the Upper Pool which is in the highway of the Fuller's Field. These messengers must have come near to the royal residence at Ophel. If they stood by the spring of Gihon, whence the tunnel led to the new Upper Pool, they would be beneath the walls of the royal residence. The "Fuller's Field" must have been a place where there was abundance of water, and this can only have been in the Kidron Valley. If En Rogel means "the Fuller's Fountain," then the Fuller's Field may have been situated in its vicinity, and the highway of the Fuller's Field may have been the road that leads down the Valley of Kidron from the southeast corner of the city.

In Isa. 22:9, 11, the prophet says: "Ye stopped the waters of the Lower Pool. Ye made also a reservoir between the two walls for the water of the Old Pool." This can be understood only of a blocking-up of the old water-course outside the city from Gihon to the Lower Pool of Siloam, and the bringing-down of the water through the Siloam tunnel to the new Upper Pool. The two walls between which this new pool lay were the western wall of the eastern hill and the new eastern wall of the western hill that, as we shall see presently, was built by Hezekiah. The name "between the two

walls" was used for the region at the lower end of the Tyropoeon Valley (cf. II Kings 25:4; Jer. 39:4; 52:7).

II Chron. 32:4 f. states that Hezekiah "stopped all the fountains and the brook that flowed through the midst of the land." II Chron. 32:30 states that Hezekiah "stopped up the upper outflow of the waters of Gihon and brought them straight down to the west side of the City of David." The word "outflow" (מוֹצֵא) is the same that is used in the inscription. The "upper outflow" is the old channel on the surface of the ground outside of the east wall of the city. Gihon is the Virgin's Fountain, and the "west side of the City of David" is the west side of the eastern hill where the Siloam tunnel comes out. In the light of this evidence, there is no room for doubt that the Siloam tunnel is Hezekiah's conduit.

2. *Hezekiah's wall.*—In II Chron. 32:5 we read: "And he took courage and built up all the wall that was broken down, and raised it up to the towers, and the other wall without, and strengthened Millo in the City of David." This passage is not found in the parallel narrative of Kings, but it is not written in the characteristic language of the Chronicler and must have been derived from an ancient source. It is confirmed by Isa. 22:10 f.: "Ye saw the breaches of the City of David that they were many . . . and ye numbered the houses of Jerusalem and ye brake down the houses to fortify the wall. Ye made also a reservoir between the two walls."

Two new walls are known to archaeologists, one on the north, the other on the south; one of these must have been the wall that Hezekiah built. The statement of Isa. 22:11, that the new Pool of Siloam lay "between the two walls," is good evidence that the wall of Hezekiah was the second wall on the south. That wall encircled the lower end of the western hill and ran up the west side of the Tyropoeon Valley opposite to the wall of the City of David. Before it was built it was impossible to speak of the Pool of Siloam as lying "between the two walls," and this phrase never occurs before the time of Hezekiah.

This wall was thrown down by Nebuchadrezzar at the time of his capture of Jerusalem; but it was not completely destroyed, and Nehemiah was able to trace its line when he made his inspection of the fortifications. In Neh. 2:12-15 Nehemiah follows the line of

this wall, setting out from the Valley Gate at the southwest corner of Solomon's city. He did not ride in a northeasterly direction toward the Temple, as would have been the case if he had followed Solomon's wall; but he rode toward the Dragon's Well, which is probably the same as En Rogel, the modern Bir Eiyub; that is, he rode straight down the Valley of Hinnom. He then came to the Dung Gate, which is not named in the old city wall, and must have stood near the southern end of the new south wall; then to the Fountain Gate, which must have been near to the Fountain of Siloam; then to the King's Pool, which is evidently Hezekiah's Upper Pool of Siloam; and then by the Brook—that is, the valley of the Kidron on the east side of the city.

The same course for the second wall is described by Neh. 3:13-15, where the wall is rebuilt from the Valley Gate to the Dung Gate, the Fountain Gate, the Pool of Siloam, the King's Garden, and the stairs of the City of David. In Neh. 12:31-37 the first company of Levites starts at the Valley Gate, and proceeds thence upon the wall to the Dung Gate, the Fountain Gate, and the stairs of the City of David. From these passages it is clear that Nehemiah's south wall began at the old Valley Gate in the southwest corner of the city, and ran thence around the lower end of the western hill until it joined the wall of the City of David at Siloam. This wall must have come into existence before the exile, since Nehemiah rebuilt on the ancient line. It is most probably to be identified with the "other wall without" which Hezekiah is said to have constructed.

This second wall on the south as rebuilt by Nehemiah lasted down to the destruction of the city by Titus in 70 A. D. It is described by Josephus in *War*, v, 4:2:

But if we go the other way westward, beginning at the same place (i. e., Hippicus), it extended through a place called Bethso, to the gate of the Essenes: and after that on the south it made a curve past the fountain of Siloam, after which it also bent again on the east at Solomon's pool, and reached as far as a certain place called Ophel where it joined the eastern cloister of the Temple. (Cf. *War*, v, 6:1.)

From Josephus, *War*, v, 9:4, it appears that the Pool of Siloam lay outside of this wall. This indicates that it did not cross the valley of the Tyropoeon from the southern end of the western to

the southern end of the eastern hill, but that it followed the cliff on the western side of the pools to a point above Siloam, and there crossed the valley to join the wall of the City of David. By the circumstance that both sides of the Tyropoeon Valley were walled, is explained the expression "between the two walls" that is used so frequently of the region round about Siloam (cf. Isa. 22:11; II Kings 25:4; Jer. 39:7; 52:7).¹



Photograph by L. B. Paton

REMAINS OF SECOND WALL ON THE SOUTH

This outer wall on the south, as described by Nehemiah and Josephus, corresponds with the outer line of fortifications discovered by Dr. Frederick Bliss in 1894. Remains of this wall have been found extending all the way from the Protestant Cemetery to the south end of the west hill. A rock scarp that seems to have been the foundation for a wall may then be traced on the west side of the Pool of Siloam to a point above the Upper Pool. The lower courses

¹ See my article on "The Meaning of the Expression, 'Between the Two Walls,'" *Journal of Biblical Literature*, xxxv, 1906, Part I.

of masonry in this wall are ancient, and there is no difficulty in believing that they go back to the time of Nehemiah, or even earlier. Even if this wall should turn out to be a later construction, it must still have followed the line of the ancient fortification.

The piece of wall that Bliss discovered connecting the southern end of the western hill with the southern end of the eastern hill is of later origin. It was probably the work of the Empress Eudoxia, 450-60 A.D.

3. *Manasseh's wall.*—Hezekiah was succeeded by his son Manasseh, who reigned fifty-five years—the longest of all the reigns of the kings of Judah. At first he submitted to the authority of Assyria, but at the time of the great revolution of Shamashshumukin he joined the conspiracy, thus necessitating a refortification of Jerusalem. The Chronicler describes his building operations in II Chron. 33:14: "Now after this he built an outer wall to the City of David, on the west side of Gihon in the Brook and [he built] to the entering in at the Fish Gate; and he compassed about Ophel, and raised it up a very great height." The outer wall of the City of David must have been merely an additional rampart close to the old wall. The mention of the Fish Gate proves that the new wall built by Manasseh was the second wall on the north, inasmuch as the Fish Gate is known to have lain in this wall (cf. Neh. 3:3; 12:39). By this wall a new quarter was inclosed on the north of the city. The Mishneh, or "second quarter," mentioned in II Kings 22:14=II Chron. 34:22, and in Zeph. 1:10, as lying near the Fish Gate, is not named before the time of Manasseh. Manasseh and his successors are the first kings who are said to have been buried in Jerusalem, but not in the City of David, according to II Kings 21:18=II Chron. 33:20; II Kings 21:26; 23:30=II Chron. 35:24. This fact suggests that it was the erection of a new wall that made it possible for these tombs to be constructed within the city limits.

If the second wall on the north was not built by Manasseh, it must have been built by one of his immediate successors. Nehemiah's wall did not follow the line of Solomon's north wall, but a new line farther to the north. It was a restoration of the pre-exilic wall; consequently, the second wall on the north must have been built before the exile. In regard to the course of this wall Nehemiah

unfortunately, gives no precise information. He mentions a number of gates and towers, but the location of these is so uncertain that they give us no help in laying down the line. Josephus' description of the second wall in *War*, v, 4:2, is as obscure as that of Nehemiah. It reads as follows:



Photograph L. B. Paton

WALL UNDER FRANCISCAN SCHOOL

The second wall took its beginning from that gate which they called Genath, which belonged to the first wall; it encompassed only the northern quarter of the city, and reached as far as the tower Antonia.

From this we learn merely that the second wall began at some point in the first wall, and that it circled around to the northwest corner of the Temple, but how far north it extended we are not told.

In lack of definite historical evidence, we are forced to turn to archaeology for the solution of the problem. Along the course of the present north wall numerous ancient remains have been discovered. Under the Grand New Hotel there is a line of huge Jewish stones running in a northwesterly direction. In the cellar of the Franciscan School, in the northwest corner of the city, a similar wall is to be seen. Along the entire course of the present north wall,



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ANCIENT ARCH AT DAMASCUS GATE

as far as the Damascus Gate, traces of the same old wall have been discovered. At the Damascus Gate ancient drafted stones still appear, and the top of the ancient gate is still seen built into the foundations. There is good archaeological evidence, accordingly, that an old Jewish wall followed substantially the line of the present city wall from the Jaffa Gate to the Damascus Gate. The question then arises: Which wall was this? Was it the second wall on the north, as described by Nehemiah and Josephus; or was it the third wall, which was not built until the time of King Agrippa? This is one

of the fundamental problems of Jerusalem topography, and to it no final answer has yet been given.

Those who hold that the present north wall corresponds with the wall of Agrippa are forced to hold that the second wall lay within the present city limits between the north wall and the wall of Solomon. The objections to this view are numerous.

1. No certain remains of a second wall inside of the present north wall have ever been discovered. The line of cisterns south and east of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, which Schick¹ supposed to indicate an ancient city moat, is inadequate evidence. On the other hand, numerous traces of a third wall outside of the present city wall were observed by Robinson in 1838.² Great stones that may have belonged to this wall have been found from time to time in digging foundations for houses north of the city, and traces of its base are perhaps still to be seen in the north side of a cistern north of St. Stephen's church.³ The archaeological evidence accordingly, so far as it goes, is more favorable to the view that the present north wall corresponds with the second wall, than that it corresponds with the third wall (see pp. 144 ff.).

2. Josephus (*War*, v, 7:3) states that, after the capture of the third, or outer, wall,

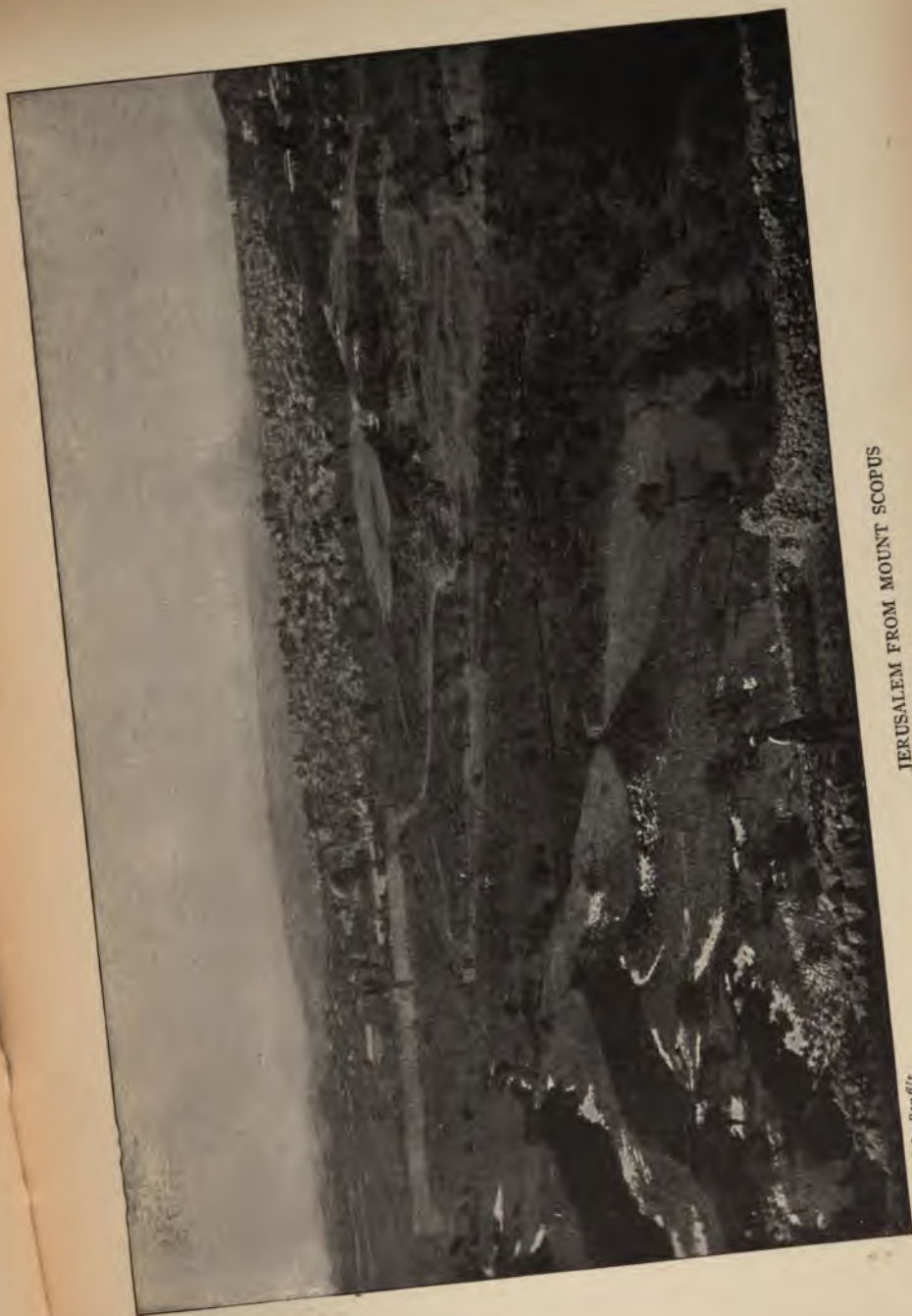
Titus moved his camp so as to be within at the place called the Camp of the Assyrians, occupying all the intervening space as far as the Kidron, but keeping a sufficient distance away from the second wall so as to be out of range of missiles.

This statement indicates that there was space enough between the third wall and the second for Titus' army to camp inside of the third, and still be out of reach of the stones and darts that the Jews hurled from their military engines on the second wall. No such space exists between the present wall and Schick's assumed second wall. The greatest distance between these is not more than 1,000 feet, and at many points they are not more than 500 feet apart. This argument bears with equal force against all other theories which locate the second wall inside of the Church of the Sepulcher. They

¹ *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, 1885, Part 4.

² *Biblical Researches in Palestine*, Vol. I, pp. 465 ff.

³ See my article on "The Third Wall of Jerusalem and Some Excavations on its Supposed Site," *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 1905, Part 2.



JERUSALEM FROM MOUNT SCOPUS

Photograph by Bonfilis

do not leave enough room between the second and the third wall to allow for the statements of Josephus.

3. In *War*, v, 4:3, Josephus states that the circumference of the city was 33 stadia. If the present wall is the third wall, the city cannot have measured more than 27 stadia, even if all the bends and projections of the towers are counted in.

4. The immense population that, according to Josephus, found shelter in the city at the time of the Passover points to a larger area



Photograph by L. B. Paton

GREAT STONES IN SIDE OF CISTERN

than that included by the present north wall. The calculation of Cestius from the number of paschal lambs (*War*, vi, 9:3) would give a population not far from 3,000,000 at the time of the feast. According to *War*, vi, 9:3, 1,100,000 perished at the time of Titus' siege.

5. *Ant.*, xx, 4:3, states that the outer wall was 3 stadia distant from the monument of Queen Helena. This monument is identified, with a high degree of probability, with the so-called Tombs of the Kings near the present residence of the Anglican bishop, but *it is at least 4 stadia from the present city wall.*

6. According to *War*, ii, 19:4, and v, 2:3, Titus pitched his camp on Scopus, 7 stadia distant from the city. Scopus is doubtless the high plateau north of Wādy el-Jôz, and it is considerably more than 7 stadia from the present north wall.

Those who identify the third wall with the present north wall are compelled to assert that in all these passages Josephus exaggerates the size of the city; but no reason for exaggeration appears, and the consistency of his statements with one another indicates rather that he has told the truth.

It appears, accordingly, that the weight of evidence is in favor of the view that the remains near the present north wall are to be identified with the ancient second north wall. This would probably never have been questioned but for the bearing of the discussion upon the genuineness of the traditional Holy Sepulcher. According to Matt. 27:32; Mark 15:20; John 19:17, 20, 41; Heb. 13:12, Christ was crucified and buried *outside* of the city wall—that is, outside of the second wall on the north, since Agrippa's wall had not yet been built. If the second wall be identified with the present north wall, then the Church of the Holy Sepulcher lies *inside* of the second wall, and cannot be the genuine site of the crucifixion and entombment. It is this fact which has led so many writers to struggle against the identification of the old second wall with the present north wall. All their efforts, however, have proved unavailing to produce valid archaeological evidence of the existence of an ancient wall inside of the Church of the Sepulcher. I assume, accordingly, that the north wall of Nehemiah, which I suppose to have been first erected by Manasseh, started at the old Corner Gate—that is, the modern Jaffa Gate; followed the line of wall under the Grand New Hotel; ran thence in a northwesterly direction parallel to the present city wall to the ruins known as Qal'at-Jalûd, near the northwest corner of the city; and then followed the present line of the city wall as far as the Damascus Gate. Thence it ran probably over the high cliff east of the Damascus Gate, and thence in a southeasterly direction to the northeast corner of the Temple. The quarter north of the Temple known as Bezetha is distinctly stated by Josephus to have lain outside of the second wall (*Ant.*, xvii, 10:2; *War*, ii, 3:1; v, 4:2); consequently, that wall cannot have followed the course of the present city wall around the northeast corner of the city (cf. p. 144).

CHAPTER X

JERUSALEM IN THE TIME OF NEHEMIAH

After the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadrezzar and his three deportations of the Jews (II Kings 24:10-19; 25:3-22; Jer. 52:30), a remnant of the nation was still left in the land, and this continued to sacrifice on the site of the ancient Temple (Jer. 41:5). According to the chronicler in Ezra, chaps. i-iii, Cyrus in his first year (538 B.C.) issued an edict allowing the Jews to return from Babylon and to rebuild their Temple. Acting on this permission, a number proceeded to Jerusalem, and set up the altar in its ancient place. The following year they laid the foundations for a new Temple. The historicity of this story has been doubted by many, because no return is mentioned by the contemporary writers Haggai, Zechariah, and Nehemiah. However this may be, it is clear that nothing had been accomplished toward rebuilding the Temple as late as the second year of Darius (520 B.C.). In that year the prophets Haggai and Zechariah came forward with an appeal to suffer the Sanctuary to lie waste no longer. Incited by their oracles, Zerubbabel, the governor, and Joshua, the high priest, began the work, and finished it in the sixth year of Darius (516 B.C.), according to Ezra 6:15.

In regard to this second Temple we have little trustworthy information. In the apocryphal letter of Darius (Ezra 6:3) permission is given to build it 60 cubits high and 60 cubits broad, but the text must be corrupt, since this is more than twice the dimensions of Solomon's Temple (I Kings 6:2). The contempt recorded in Hag. 2:3 indicates that the second Temple was smaller than the first. Like Ezekiel's Temple, and unlike Solomon's Temple, this edifice had two courts; but the people were not yet excluded from the inner court (I Macc. 4:38-48; Josephus, *Ant.*, xiii, 13:5). Pseudo-Hecataeus, quoted by Josephus (*Cont. Ap.*, i, 22) gives the following account:

There, about the middle of the city, is an inclosing-wall of stone, in length about 500 feet, in breadth 100 cubits, with double-doored gates. Within is a

square altar constructed of selected unhewn white stones, each side of which is 20 cubits broad and 10 cubits high. Beside it there is a large building, in which stand an altar and a candlestick, both of gold weighing two talents. Upon these there is a fire that is never suffered to go out by day or by night. There is no image, nor votive offering, nor anything planted, nor a grove, nor anything of that sort.

Beyond this we have no information concerning the size or appearance of Zerubbabel's Temple. The second great architectural undertaking of this period was the rebuilding of the city wall.

The best account of the wall of Jerusalem as enlarged by Hezekiah and Manasseh and as rebuilt by Nehemiah, is found in the third chapter of the Book of Nehemiah, where we are told in regular order how this wall was portioned out between the inhabitants of Jerusalem and was repaired by them. This account is supplemented by the narrative of Nehemiah's night ride in Neh. 2:12-15, and of the procession of the Levites in Neh. 12:27-40. In this latter narrative the Levites start at the Valley Gate at the southwest corner of the city, half of them proceeding along the south wall to the Temple, the other half along the north wall to the Temple.

1. *The Sheep Gate.*—The account of the rebuilding of the wall in Neh. 3:1 begins with the statement that Eliashib, the high-priest, and the priests built the Sheep Gate. To this point the narrative returns in 3:32 with the account of the completion of the wall. According to 12:39, it was the last point passed by the northern company of Levites before they met their brethren in the court of the Temple. It must, therefore, have been the northern entrance to the Temple inclosure, and have been identical with the Upper Gate or Gate of Benjamin in Solomon's wall mentioned in II Kings 15:35 = II Chron. 27:3; Jer. 20:2; 37:13; 38:7; Ezek. 8:3; Zech. 14:10.

2. *Tower of Hammeah.*—This is mentioned in Neh. 3:1 as the next important point of the wall beyond the Sheep Gate going West. In Neh. 12:39 the northern company of Levites pass the Tower of Hammeah just before reaching the Sheep Gate. This tower seems to have stood on the site of the later castle of Antonia, which commanded the Temple on the north, and is represented by the modern Turkish barracks at the northwest corner of the Haram area. According to Josephus (*Ant.*, xiii, 11:2), this tower was in existence as early as the time of the Hasmoneans.



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THE LINE OF NEHEMIAH'S NORTH WALL

3. *The Tower of Hananel.*—Neh. 3:1 mentions this tower as the next point west of Hammeah, and Neh. 12:39 says that the northern company of Levites after leaving the Fish Gate passed by the Tower



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SITE OF TOWER OF HANANEL

of Hananel and the Tower of Hammeah. Jer. 31:38 says: "The city shall be built to the Lord from the Tower of Hananel unto the Gate of the Corner." This indicates that Hananel was a corner of the city

opposite to the Corner Gate. Zech. 14:10 says: "She shall dwell in her place, from Benjamin's gate unto the place of the First Gate, unto the Corner Gate, and from the Tower of Hananel unto the king's wine-presses." Here the lines are drawn from the Gate of Benjamin on the east to the Corner Gate on the west, and from the Tower of Hananel on the north to the king's wine-presses, which must have been near the king's garden, on the south. Hananel, accordingly,



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DAMASCUS GATE, SITE OF FISH GATE

must have stood at the north angle of the second wall on the cliff east of the present Damascus Gate.

4. *The Fish Gate.*—According to Neh. 3:3, the Fish Gate lay between the Tower of Hananel and the Old Gate. According to Neh. 12:39, the north company of Levites went from the Old Gate over the Fish Gate to the Tower of Hananel; but according to II Chron. 33:14, the Fish Gate lay in the new wall built by Manasseh, which we have found reason to identify with the second north wall. *Zeph. 1:10* connects the Fish Gate with the "second quarter"—that

is, apparently, the new district added by the second wall on the north. These passages indicate that the Fish Gate is to be sought in the modern Damascus Gate, in the middle of the north wall of the city. Ancient stones are still to be seen in the foundations of this gate. The Middle Gate, mentioned in Jer. 39:1-3 as the place where the king of Babylon sat after the capture of Jerusalem, is apparently to be identified with the Fish Gate. It was so called because it lay midway in the north wall.

5. *The Old Gate*.—In Neh. 3:6 the Old Gate is mentioned next to the Fish Gate. A large number of builders are named as working between the two gates, so that it seems reasonable to suppose that the Old Gate was a considerable distance from the Fish Gate. In Neh. 12:39 the northern company of Levites passed the Old Gate in going from the Broad Wall to the Fish Gate. The name suggests that the gate lay in the first wall of the city and was identical with the Corner Gate, at which point the second wall on the north joined the earlier wall. This view is confirmed by Zech. 14:10, where we read: "Jerusalem shall be lifted up from the Gate of Benjamin unto the place of the First Gate unto the Corner Gate." The First Gate is mentioned nowhere else and it is natural to regard ראשון, "first," as a textual corruption of ישן, "old." If this view be correct, the Old Gate is explicitly identified with the Corner Gate.

6. *The Broad Wall*.—According to Neh. 3:8, the Broad Wall lay next beyond the Old Gate. It is noteworthy that in this account the Gate of Ephraim is not mentioned. This is what we should expect, if this gate belonged to the old north wall. After the second wall was built, it stood in the heart of the city, and therefore did not need to be rebuilt. In Neh. 12:39 it is mentioned, but it is not stated that the Levites passed *over* it in their procession around the top of the wall, but merely that they passed *over against* it. It was only 400 cubits distant from the Corner Gate, and consequently was an ancient landmark that was easily recognized from the top of the wall. It is mentioned in the same way in which the House of David and the House of the Heroes are mentioned as passed by those who marched upon the eastern wall. The outer wall on the north would naturally be repaired first, and then subsequently the inner wall would be repaired as an additional defense to the northern

quarter of the city. In Nehemiah, however, no mention is made of a repairing of the inner wall. The broad wall, accordingly, must have been part of the earliest fortifications of the city on the western side, since Nehemiah's wall coincided with Solomon's wall from the Corner Gate to the Valley Gate. The Valley of Hinnom is only a shallow depression at the Corner Gate, and, consequently, at this point a wall of unusual strength was needed to defend the city. This is



Photograph by Bonfils

SITE OF THE BROAD WALL

probably the reason why this was known as the Broad Wall. Apparently this was the same piece that was strengthened by Uzziah, according to II Chron. 26:9.

7. *The Tower of the Furnaces.*—At the southern end of the Broad Wall lay the Tower of the Furnaces, according to Neh. 3:11 and 12:38. It is naturally identified with the great rock-cutting known as Maudslay's Scarp in the English Protestant School, south of the southwest corner of the modern city. This scarp was evidently designed to form the base of a tower that protected the corner of the ancient city.

8. *The Valley Gate.*—Neh. 3:13 locates the Valley Gate between the Tower of Furnaces and the Dung Gate. According to Neh. 2:13, it was the point from which Nehemiah set out to ride down the Valley of Hinnom toward Siloam, and according to 12:31, 38, it was the point from which the two companies of Levites set out, one to encircle the city on the north, and the other on the south, until they met in the court of the Temple. This gate lay in the old wall



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BASE OF TOWER IN PROTESTANT SCHOOL

of Solomon, according to II Chron. 26:9; and its location at the southwest corner of Solomon's city has already been discussed in speaking of Solomon's wall. In Jer. 19:2 the command is given to the prophet: "Go forth unto the valley of the son of Hinnom, which is by the entry of the Gate Harsith." The Gate Harsith, or Gate of "Potsherds," is not mentioned elsewhere, but since it opened upon the Valley of Hinnom, it is reasonable to suppose that it is the same as the Valley Gate. At the upper end of the Birket es-Sultân, the large modern pool in the Valley of Hinnom, potsherds

are still pounded up to be used as cement for repairing roofs. It is possible that this place was used for the same purpose in antiquity, and that the Valley Gate was known as the Gate of Potsherds because it opened upon this spot.

9. *The Dung Gate.*—Neh. 3:13 locates the Dung Gate at a distance of 1,000 cubits from the Valley Gate. If, as we have seen, the Valley Gate is to be identified with the opening discovered by



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THE DUNG GATE

Bliss at the southwest corner of the old city, then the Dung Gate must be identified with the other opening discovered by Bliss at the southeast end of the western hill below the Pools of Siloam. The distance between these two points is not more than 1,000 cubits, or 1,500 feet. Neh. 2:13 and 12:31 also name the Dung Gate as lying next to the Valley Gate. The south gate of the modern city in El-Wâd is known today as the Dung Gate, and all the refuse of the city is dumped outside of it. Customs are so persistent in the Orient that it is reasonable to suppose that the south gate of Nehemiah's city had the same name and the same use.

10. *The Fountain Gate.*—Neh. 3:15 names the Fountain Gate as lying next beyond the Dung Gate and as near to the Pool of Siloam and the stairs of the City of David. Neh. 2:14 mentions it as lying between the Dung Gate and the King's Pool—that is, the Upper Pool of Siloam built by King Hezekiah. Neh. 12:37 states that the southern company of Levites marched along the wall from the Dung Gate to the Fountain Gate, and thence to the stairs of the City of David. These passages all show that the Fountain Gate was in the immediate neighborhood of the Upper Pool of Siloam. Its name was derived from the fact that it gave access to the Fountain of Siloam. As we have seen, the second wall on the south did not cross the lower end of the Tyropoeon Valley below the Old Pool, but followed the cliff on the west side of the valley and crossed above Siloam. Hence, the Fountain Gate has to be sought at the point where the wall crossed the valley. In II Kings 25:4; Jer. 39:4; 52:7, it is stated that, at the time of the capture of Jerusalem by Nebuchadrezzar, Zedekiah fled "by the way of the gate between the two walls which was by the king's garden." Nebuchadrezzar captured the city from the northern side, and, consequently, Zedekiah must have fled toward the south. The gate between the two walls must, therefore, be identified with the Fountain Gate which lay between the wall of the City of David on the east side of the Tyropoeon Valley and the wall of Hezekiah on the west side of that valley. This identification is also demanded by the fact that the gate between the two walls led to the King's Garden. From other passages this is known to have lain at the mouth of the Tyropoeon Valley.

11. *The Pool of Siloam.*—In Neh. 3:15; 2:14 the Pool of Siloam is named between the Fountain Gate and the stairs of the City of David. In 2:14 it is called the King's Pool. Its location at the southern end of the Siloam tunnel has already been discussed, so that nothing more needs to be said here (see p. 40).

12. *The King's Garden.*—This is mentioned in Neh. 3:15; II Kings 25:4; Jer. 39:4; 52:7, as lying near to the Fountain Gate. According to Zech. 14:10, "Jerusalem shall be lifted up from the tower of Hananel unto the king's wine-presses." Hananel is the most northern point of the city, and the king's wine-presses seem to be mentioned as the extreme southern point. They must, there-

fore, have been located in or near the King's Garden. This garden was irrigated by the overflow of water from the Pools of Siloam. At the present time the market-gardens of Jerusalem are situated at the mouth of the Tyropoeon Valley.

13. *The Stairs of the City of David* are mentioned in Neh. 3:15 and 12:37 as lying close to the Pool of Siloam. They are doubtless



Photograph by L. B. Paton

SITE OF KING'S GARDEN

to be identified with the steps cut in the rock that are still visible at the southern extremity of the eastern hill.

14. *The Ascent of the Wall* (Neh. 3:19 and 12:37) is evidently the steep ascent by which the wall climbed up the eastern side of the City of David.

15. *The Turning of the Wall* mentioned in Neh. 3:24, corresponds with the change in the course of the wall as discovered by Bliss and Guthe at a point west of the spring of Gihon.

16. *The Tower Standing Out*, mentioned in Neh. 3:26 as situated

in Ophel, corresponds to the great tower whose foundations Guthe discovered immediately south of the Temple.

17. *The Water Gate* is mentioned in Neh. 3:26 as situated on the east side of Ophel near the great tower. In Neh. 12:37 it is mentioned as lying between the House of David and the Temple. In 8:1, 16, it was the place where the assembly was held to which Ezra read the Book of the Law. It evidently lay near to the southeast corner of the Temple, and was called the Water Gate from the fact that it gave access to the spring of Gihon below in the Kidron Valley.

18. *The Wall of Ophel* mentioned in Neh. 3:28 is doubtless to be identified with the ancient wall, whose remains Warren and Guthe have uncovered, running in a southwesterly direction from the southeast corner of the Temple.

19. *The Horse Gate*, mentioned in Neh. 3:28 and Jer. 31:40, we have already met as a gate in the wall of Solomon (II Kings 11:16; II Chron. 23:15). As we have seen, it was situated in the eastern wall of the Temple inclosure near the southeast corner (see p. 100).

20. *The Gate Miphkad*, mentioned in Neh. 3:31, must have been situated near the northeast corner of the Temple area, and have been identical with the East Gate. It is not called by this name elsewhere in the Old Testament.

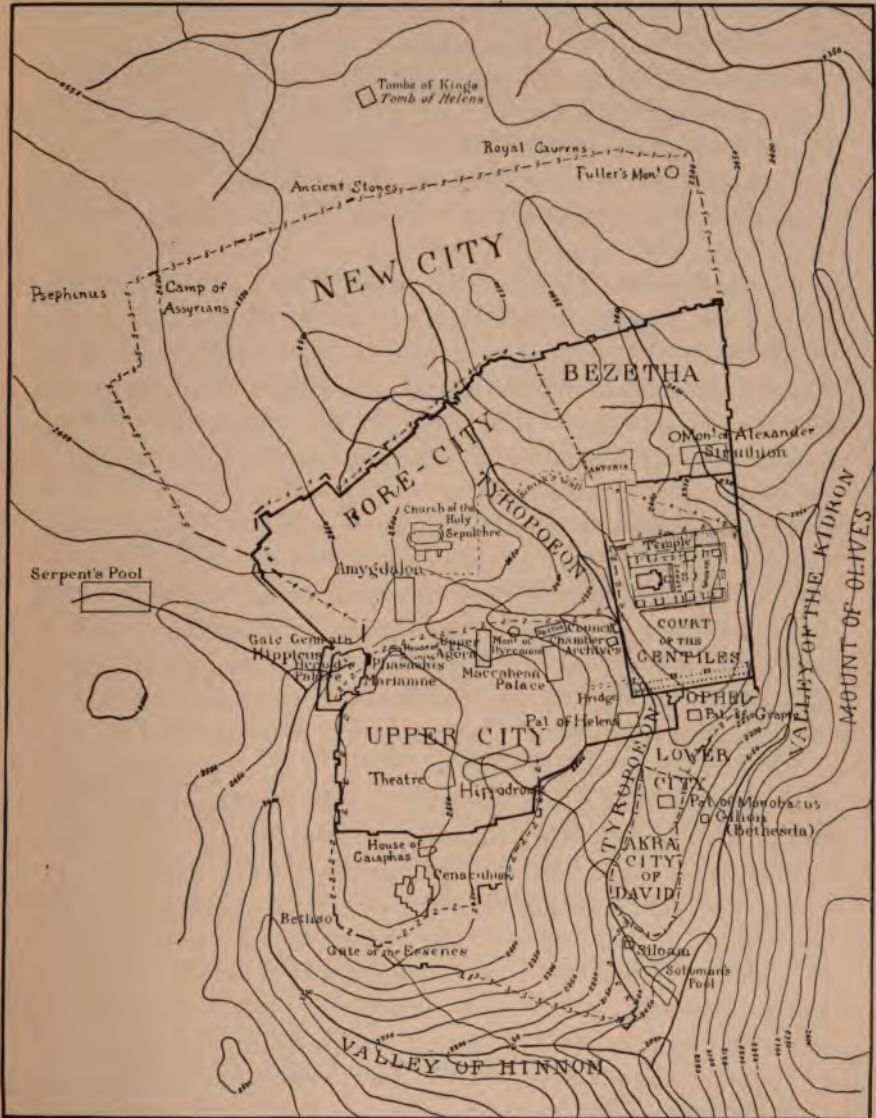
21. *The Ascent of the Corner*, which Neh. 3:31 names as lying between the Gate Miphkad and the Sheep Gate, must, as its name implies, have lain near the northeast corner of the Temple. It was probably a portion of the wall that climbed the hill in a northwesterly direction from the corner of the ancient city. This brings us back to the Sheep Gate from which we set out, and completes the circuit of the outer wall of Jerusalem as it existed in the time of Nehemiah, and as it remained until the year 40 A. D., when the third wall on the north was built by Agrippa.

CHAPTER XI

JERUSALEM IN THE PERIOD BETWEEN THE OLD AND THE NEW TESTAMENTS

The rebuilding of the Temple and of the ancient city-wall are the only recorded architectural achievements of the Jews in the Persian period. The population of Jerusalem was scanty, even after Nehemiah had drafted a tenth of the colony to help fill up the vacant space within the walls (Neh. 11:1). The poverty was great, and constant feuds with their neighbors left no opportunity for building operations. Under Greek rule the conditions were little better. The Akra, or Citadel, was fortified and occupied alternately by the Egyptians and the Syrians. In 198 B. C. it was in the hands of Scopas, the general of Ptolemy Epiphanes, but was captured from him by Antiochus the Great (Josephus, *Ant.*, xii, 3:3). In 168 B. C. Apollonius Thrasaei, the general of Antiochus Epiphanes, captured Jerusalem, broke down the walls and the houses, defiled the Temple, and set up an altar of the Olympian Zeus upon the altar of burnt-offering. The observance of the Jewish religion was prohibited, and multitudes perished in the ensuing persecution. At this time the Akra was rebuilt out of material taken from the ruined walls and houses, and was filled with a large Syrian garrison that dominated both the city and the Temple (I Macc. 1:33-40; 3:45; Josephus, *Ant.*, xii, 5:4; 6:2). In 164 B. C. when Judas Maccabaeus defeated the Syrians and occupied Jerusalem he was unable to dislodge this garrison (I Macc. 4:36-41; Josephus, *Ant.*, xii, 7:6). The Syrians and renegades continued to maintain themselves here, harassing the Jews and interrupting the Temple services, so that Judas made a strenuous, but unsuccessful, effort to drive them out (*Ant.*, xii, 9:3, 4). During the subsequent wars the Akra served as a center of Syrian agitation in Judea and as a refuge for unsuccessful Syrian armies (*Ant.*, xii, 10:4). In 161 B. C. it was strengthened by the Syrian general Bacchides (*Ant.*, xiii, 1:3), and with Bethsura remained untaken when all the other fortresses of the

land had been captured by the Jews (*Ant.*, xiii, 2:1). Numerous negotiations were conducted between the Hasmonean princes and the



JERUSALEM IN NEW TESTAMENT TIMES

claimants for the Syrian throne with a view to its surrender, but nothing came of these (*Ant.*, xiii, 2:3; 5:2), and in 146 B. C. Jonathan began to lay siege to it (*Ant.*, xiii, 4:9). A wall was built through the midst of the city to exclude the garrison from access to the market-place (*Ant.*, xiii, 5:11), no help came to the Syrians (*Ant.*, xiii, 6:6), and they were reduced to the greatest straits (I Macc. 13:49), so that they were compelled to surrender to Simon in 161 B. C. (I Macc. 13:50). According to Josephus, the Akra was razed to the ground, and even the hill upon which it stood was cut off and thrown into the valley, so that it was no longer higher than the Temple mount (*Ant.*, xiii, 6:7; *War*, i, 2:2; v, 4:1).

In regard to the location of the Akra the numerous references in I Macc. and Josephus leave no room for doubt. It was in the City of David, or Lower City, on the southeast hill immediately south of the Temple. The LXX version identifies it with the Millo of David, Solomon, and Hezekiah (II Sam. 5:9; I Kings 9:15, 24; II Chron. 32:5). It was probably the same as the "fortress which belongs to the house" of Neh. 2:8.¹

In the wars with the Syrians the chief stronghold of the Maccabeans was the Temple. In 164 Judas took refuge there and successfully resisted Antiochus Eupator until his provisions gave out. Antiochus was so impressed with its strength that he cast down part of its wall before leaving Jerusalem (*Ant.*, xii, 9:5-7). This damage was repaired by Jonathan in 146 B. C., who greatly strengthened the outer wall by the addition of lofty towers (*Ant.*, xiii, 5:11). After the fall of the Akra in 141 B. C. the Temple became the citadel of Jerusalem, and all the Hasmonean princes labored to make it impregnable. The enemies of Hyrcanus II intrenched themselves there (*Ant.*, xiv, 1:2). Aristobulus was besieged there by Aretas and Hyrcanus II (*Ant.*, xiv, 2:1, 2; 4:1, 2). When Pompey advanced to settle the dispute between the two brothers, he was compelled to lay siege to it. He found it defended on the north by a strong wall with lofty, well-built towers, in front of which were a ditch and a deep natural ravine. In order to take it he was compelled to construct a wall of circumvallation with towers that overtopped those of the Temple inclosure. Even these efforts would probably have been unsuccessful but for the unwillingness of the Jews

¹ For a full discussion of the location of the Akra see pp. 51-59.

to fight on the Sabbath (*Ant.*, xiv, 4:2-4; *War*, ii, 7:1, 3-6). In 37 B. C. Herod besieged the Temple in a similar manner, constructing a wall and towers over against it, and filling up the ditch that lay in front of it (*Ant.*, xiv, 15:14; 16:2; *War*, i, 17:8).

Another construction of the Maccabean age was the Palace that was occupied as a residence by the Hasmonean high-priestly kings. In *Ant.*, xx, 8:11, Josephus states that it was built "of old" (*παλαιοι*) by the Hasmoneans, but he gives no precise information as to its origin. Apparently it was already in existence when Hyrcanus I built the Baris (*Ant.*, xviii, 4:3). It was used by Aristobulus as a royal residence (*Ant.*, xiv, 1:2; *War*, i, 6:1), and was subsequently occupied by Pompey after the surrender of the city (*Ant.*, xiv, 4:2, *War*, i, 7:2). In it Herod and Phasaëlus took refuge from the party of Antigonus (*Ant.*, xiv, 13:3, 4; *War*, i, 13:2, 3). According to *Ant.*, xx, 8:11, it was near the Xystus, upon an elevation that afforded a delightful prospect. According to *War*, ii, 16:3, it lay in the Upper City at the end of the bridge which crossed the Tyropoeon Valley to the Temple. These statements show that it must have been situated on the top of the central hill of Jerusalem, in substantially the position now occupied by the Synagogue of the Ashkenazim Jews. It occupied a commanding site and was strongly fortified so that it served as a sort of citadel for the Upper City.

From the time of Hyrcanus I (135-105 B. C.) dates the Baris (Heb. *Birā* "fortress"), which stood upon the site of the Tower of Hammeah in Nehemiah's wall (Neh. 3:1), and of the later Antonia (*Ant.*, xviii, 4:3; xv, 11:4), in the place now occupied by the Turkish Barracks at the northwest corner of the Hāram.² By this fortress the northern side of the Temple was greatly strengthened, and it formed a safe and convenient residence for the Hasmonean princes at the times when they were obliged to perform high-priestly duties in the Temple. Hyrcanus I dwelt here much of the time, and kept here the high-priestly vestments; and his example was followed by all of his successors (*Ant.*, xviii, 4:3; xv, 11:4). Here Aristobulus murdered his brother Antigonus (*Ant.*, xiii, 11:2; *War*, i, 3:3-5). Here the wife and children of the rebellious Aristobulus were imprisoned by Queen Alexandra (*Ant.*, xiii, 16:5). Here Hyrcanus II took refuge from

² See pp. 7-9.

the attack of his brother Aristobulus (*Ant.*, xiv, 1:2; *War*, i, 6:1). Hence Antigonus, the last of the Hasmoneans, went out to fall at the feet of the Roman general Sosius (*Ant.*, xiv, 16:2; *War*, i, 18:2).

Besides the Baris the high-priest John Hyrcanus constructed for himself a sepulchral monument that remained a conspicuous landmark



Photograph by Bonfils

TOMBS IN THE KIDRON VALLEY

in Jerusalem. *War*, v, 6:2, states that Titus made it the objective point in his plan to break through the three northern walls of the city. *War*, v, 7:3, says that after the fall of the third, or outer wall on the north, John and his party defended the Tower of Antonia and the north cloister of the Temple, while Simon and his party defended the ground that was near the Monument of John as far as the gate where water was brought into the Tower of Hippicus. According to *War*, v, 9:2, after the fall of the second wall, Titus proposed to capture the Upper City at the Monument of John, and the Temple at the Tower of Antonia (cf. v, 11:4). These references lead us to look for the

Monument on the north side of the Upper City, just inside of the old first wall on the north.

When Alexander Jannaeus was on his deathbed he advised his queen, Alexandra, to come to terms with the Pharisees, his lifelong enemies. In honor of this conduct the Pharisees built him a splendid monument (*Ant.*, xiii, 15:5; 16:1). According to *War*, v, 7:7, it lay outside of the second wall on the north, in the vicinity of the Tower of Antonia and the north cloister of the Temple.

Other tombs of the Maccabean age are the so-called Tomb of Absalom, Tomb of James, and Tomb of Zechariah that are still to be seen hewn in the cliff on the east side of the gorge of the Kidron east of the Haram. Perhaps this is the place called by Josephus *Peristereon*, or "Dove-cote" (*War*, v, 12:2), and the name may be due to the numerous tombs excavated in the rock.

The only other architectural undertaking of the Maccabean age that is known to us is the bridge across the Tyropoeon Valley that connected the Temple with the Upper City. Josephus tells us that Aristobulus broke it down in anticipation of Pompey's attack (*Ant.*, xiv, 4:2; *War*, i, 7:2), but how long before his day it was erected he does not inform us.³

With Herod a new building era began in Jerusalem. From Nehemiah to the end of the Hasmonean period there had been little change, but now alterations were undertaken on a magnificent scale. In the early part of his reign, certainly before the battle of Actium in 31 B. C., Herod rebuilt the Baris, or fortress of Hyrcanus I, near the northwest corner of the Temple inclosure and named it Antonia after his friend Marcus Antonius, the Triumvir. The slopes of the hill on which the tower stood were covered with slabs of polished stone that rendered access impossible. Around the top of the cliff was a breastwork three cubits high, and within this inclosure stood the fortress, forty cubits in height, with a tower at each of the corners. The interior was fitted up like a palace with rooms of all sorts, courts, baths, and quarters for troops, so that it seemed like a little city. On the north and east, where there were no natural declivities, the tower was protected by a deep ditch and by the Pool Struthion. By this tower the north wall of the city was greatly strengthened, and a vantage ground was gained

³ See pp. 10 f.

struction of the ground-plan of Herod's Temple is that of Sanday and Waterhouse.⁷ With the courteous permission of the publishers it is reproduced on the preceding page.

The Xystus, or Forum, is not mentioned before the time of Herod, and was probably laid out by him. According to *War*, v, 4:2, it lay near the inner wall on the north at the point where it crossed the Tyropoeon Valley to join the west porch of the Temple. According to *War*, ii, 16:5, it was near the end of the bridge that led from the Upper City to the Temple (cf. vi, 6:2). It was the final point of attack of the Romans after the outer and middle walls on the north had fallen. According to *War*, ii, 16:3, it was used as a meeting-place for public assemblies.

The Hippodrome, which is first mentioned in the year 4 B. C., was probably also the work of Herod. It was occupied as a stronghold by the Jews in their fight with the quaestor Sabinus whose headquarters were in Herod's Palace. It seems, therefore, to have stood upon high ground on the western hill. Spiess⁸ plausibly conjectures that it lay on the site of the modern Ḥâret el-Maidân or "District of the Racecourse" (cf. *Ant.*, xvii, 10:2; *War*, ii, 3:1, 2).

The Council House and Archives were probably also the work of Herod, since they are not mentioned before his time. They lay near together, since both were set on fire by the Romans at the same time (*War*, vi, 6:3). The Council House, according to *War*, v, 4:2, lay near the inner wall on the north, between the Xystus and the west porch of the Temple. Both buildings, apparently, were situated in the Tyropoeon Valley close to the west wall of the Temple, and were south of the inner wall on the north, since they were not burned by the Romans until after the Upper City had been captured.

The Serpent's Pool (Birket Mamilla), the Pool Amygdalon (Birket Ḥammâm el-Baṭraq), and the Pool Struthion (Birket Isra'îl) are not mentioned in the Old Testament, nor by Josephus before the time of the siege of Jerusalem. It is possible, therefore, that they also may have been the work of Herod, and may have been designed to supply his Palace and the Castle of Antonia with water.⁹

⁷ Sanday, *Sacred Sites of the Gospels* (Oxford, 1903), p. 116.

⁸ *Das Jerusalem des Josephus*, p. 30.

⁹ See pp. 35-44.

CHAPTER XII

JERUSALEM IN NEW TESTAMENT TIMES

In spite of Herod's undertakings the general appearance of the city remained the same as it had been in earlier times. The southeast hill, or Lower City, was inclosed with its original line of fortifications, and was known as the City of David, or the Akra. In it the Tomb of David was still shown (*Ant.*, xiii, 8:4; xvi, 7:1; *War*, i, 2:5; Acts 2:29). The name Ophel still clung to the region immediately south of the Temple (*War*, v, 4:2; 6:1; vi, 6:3). The Temple stood on the same spot as Solomon's Temple, and was defended on the north with the wall that Solomon had built. The southwest hill, or Upper City, was still inclosed on the north and west with Solomon's wall (No. 2) and on the south with Hezekiah's wall (No. 3). The ancient gates were still in use, although their names seem to have changed. The Mishneh, or Second Quarter, added by Manasseh's second wall on the north (No. 4), was still a distinct part of the city and was known as the Fore-City or Suburb (*προάστειον*). Many of the Old Testament names for places in the vicinity were still in common use. Among these may be mentioned Kidron (John 18:1; *War*, v, 2:3; 6:1; 12:2; vi, 3:2), Gihon (*Ant.*, vii, 14:5), Siloam (Luke 13:4; John 9:7; *War*, v, 4:1; 9:4; 12:2; vi, 7:2; 8:5 *et al.*), Solomon's Pool (*War*, v, 4:2), and the Mount of Olives (Matt. 21:1; 24:3; Mark 13:3; 14:26; Luke 19:29, 37; 21:37; 22:39; John 8:1; Acts 1:12; *Ant.*, xx, 8:6; *War*, v, 2:3, 4, 5; 3:5). On the whole, Jerusalem in the time of Christ was still practically the same city that it had been in pre-exilic times, and was full of interesting associations for one familiar with the Old Testament. As Jesus walked its streets, or looked down upon it from the surrounding hills, he must often have been reminded of the kings, prophets, and psalmists of ancient Israel.

On account of the hostility of the Jewish authorities, Jesus never took up his abode in Jerusalem. Nazareth remained his home, and

he came to the capital only for occasional visits. For this reason the connections of the gospel history with the holy city are fewer than might have been expected. The first three references are to the Temple. Luke 2:22-39 records that when Jesus was thirty-four days old he was brought to be presented in the Temple with a sacrifice of a pair of turtle-doves according to the law of Lev. 12:6, and was blessed by the aged Simeon and Anna who recognized in him the long expected Messiah. This presentation must have taken place in the Court of the Women. It probably occurred at the Beautiful Gate, where a flight of steps led up to the Court of Israel. Here the priest received the offerings from the mother and carried them to be sacrificed on the altar.

The second visit, as narrated in Luke 2:41-50, was at the feast of Passover, when Jesus was twelve years of age. On this occasion he must have entered the Court of the Men of Israel with Joseph, and have performed the ceremony by which he assumed the obligations of an adult Israelite.

The third visit is the one narrated in John 2:13-22 immediately after Jesus' first appearance as a teacher in Galilee:

And the Passover of the Jews was at hand, and Jesus went up to Jerusalem. And he found in the Temple those that sold oxen and sheep and doves, and the changers of money sitting; and he made a scourge of cords, and cast all out of the Temple, both the sheep and the oxen; and he poured out the changers' money, and overthrew their tables; and to them that sold the doves he said, Take these things hence; make not my Father's house a house of merchandise. . . . The Jews therefore answered and said unto him, What sign showest thou unto us, seeing that thou doest these things? Jesus answered and said unto them, Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up. The Jews therefore said, Forty and six years was this temple in building, and wilt thou raise it up in three days?

The stalls of the traders and money-changers must have been situated in the Great, or Outer Court of the Temple, the Court of the Gentiles, and were probably near the chief entrances. If, as is commonly supposed, the concluding words of the Jews refer to the literal Temple and not to Jesus' body, they are an indication that this event occurred in 26 A. D., since the Temple was begun by Herod in 20 B. C.

The fourth visit, as recorded in John 5, was at the time of an unnamed feast. On this occasion Jesus healed a lame man at the Pool of Bethesda. In a previous discussion of the location of the Pool

of Bethesda,¹ reasons were given for holding that Bethesda is to be identified with the Gihon of the Old Testament, the modern Virgin's Fount in the Kidron Valley south of the Temple.

THE fifth visit (John 7:1—10:21) was at a feast of Tabernacles. Entering into the Temple he taught "in the treasury" (John 8:20). The expression "treasury" seems to refer to the large boxes with trumpet-shaped mouths for gathering alms that stood on either side of the Court of the Women. As he was leaving the Temple Jesus saw a man blind from his birth, and after anointing his eyes with clay, he said to him, "Go, wash in the Pool of Siloam." The man went and washed, and returned with his eyesight restored (John 9:1-7). Siloam is the pool, so often mentioned in the Old Testament, that lay at the mouth of the Tyropoeon Valley.²

The sixth visit (John 10:22-42) was at the feast of the Dedication in winter. Jesus was walking in Solomon's Porch, the eastern cloister of the Outer Court of the Temple, when the Jews came to him and began to discuss the old subject of his messianic claims. His assertion of oneness with the Father so enraged them that they sought to kill him, and he was compelled to withdraw himself beyond the Jordan.

The seventh and final visit of Jesus to Jerusalem was at the time of the last Passover. On Palm Sunday he made his triumphal entry into the city, coming from Bethany over the Mount of Olives. The gate by which he would naturally enter the Temple would be the eastern one. This was the Gate Shushan that lay on the site of the modern Golden Gate.³ On Sunday, Monday, and Tuesday of Passion Week Jesus taught in the Temple.

On Wednesday he rested at Bethany, and on Thursday he once more entered Jerusalem to eat the Last Supper with his disciples. The place chosen was an "upper room" (Mark 14:15; Luke 22:12). The subsequent mention of the young man who accompanied Jesus to the Garden of Gethsemane, and who left his garment in the hands of the rabble and fled naked (found only in Mark 14:51 f.) suggests

¹ See p. 41.

² See pp. 40 f.

³ See Schick, *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästinavereins*, Vol. XXII (1899), pp. 94-101; and above, pp. 82 f.

that the young man was Mark the evangelist, and that the "upper room" was in the house of Mary, the mother of Mark. The place where the disciples met during the interval between the crucifixion and the ascension (Luke 24:33; John 20:19; Mark 16:14) is in Acts 1:13 called "the upper room where they were abiding." There is no reason to doubt that it was the same "upper room" in which the Last Supper was eaten. Here "all with one accord continued stedfast in prayer, with the women, and Mary the mother of Jesus, and with his brethren" (Acts 1:14). Here Matthias was chosen to fill the place of Judas (Acts 1:26). Here the Spirit descended on the day of Pentecost (Acts 2:1-4). Subsequently (Acts 12:12) we are told that Peter, after his escape from prison, "came to the house of Mary, the mother of John whose surname was Mark; where many were gathered together and were praying." This confirms the conjecture that the Last Supper was celebrated at the house of the mother of Mark, and shows that it continued to be used as a meeting-place by the infant church in Jerusalem. Now Epiphanius⁴ declares that when Hadrian visited Jerusalem (in 132 A. D.),

He found the whole city cast down to the ground, and the Temple of God trodden under foot, except a few buildings and the little church of God on the spot where the disciples, returning after the ascension of the Savior from the Mount of Olives, had gone up to the upper room; for there it had been built, that is, in the quarter of Zion, the church which had survived the destruction and parts of the building on Zion.

There is no difficulty in supposing that memory of the location of the mother-church of Christendom survived the fall of Jerusalem; and that when the Christians returned to the city, they held their assemblies on the ancient site. The church seen by Hadrian may well have been the lineal descendant of the original church. From this time onward there is an unbroken chain of tradition identifying the so-called Cenaculum, at the southern end of the western hill, with the first church of Jerusalem and the "upper room" of the disciples. In this case, at least, ecclesiastical tradition seems to be trustworthy, and it is probable that in the Cenaculum we have the genuine scene of the Last Supper. The building now lies outside of the city-wall, and is in the hands of the Moslems, who call it the Tomb of the Prophet David. In the

⁴ *De Pond. et Mes.*, xiv (ed. Dindorff, iv, 17).

center of the complex of Arab buildings are remains of an ancient Christian church.⁵

From the Last Supper Jesus went out across the brook Kidron to the Garden of Gethsemane (John 18:1). Kidron is the stream so often mentioned in the Old Testament as lying east of the Temple, and the Garden of Gethsemane must have been one of the numerous olive groves that covered the western slope of the Mount of Olives. The traditional Greek and Latin Gethsemanes have no ancient tradition in their favor, but are doubtless in substantially the correct position.

In the garden Jesus was arrested and was taken to the palace of the ex-high-priest Annas (John 18:12), and thence to the palace of Caiaphas, the actual high priest (John 18:24). Tradition finds the palace of Annas in the vicinity of Herod's Palace, and the palace of Caiaphas a little north of the Cenaculum. This is substantially correct, since the high priests of this period are known to have had their residences on the southwest hill. The house of Ananias, son of Annas, was burned at the same time with the Maccabean Palace (*War*, ii, 17:6).

From Caiaphas Jesus was taken to the Praetorium to be tried before Pilate (John 18:28 ff.; 19:9; Matt. 27:27; Mark 15:16). Tradition identifies this with the Castle of Antonia at the northwest corner of the Temple inclosure, but the best modern authorities are agreed that it is rather to be identified with Herod's Palace. All the Roman procurators of whom we have any record occupied the Palace when they were administering the government in Jerusalem. Thus Sabinus was quartered here in 4 B. C., during the interval between the death of Herod and the confirmation of Archelaus (*Ant.*, xvii, 9:3; *War*, ii, 2:2). In like manner in 66 A. D. Florus was stationed here. It is highly probable that it was also the residence of Pilate. In fact, the description of the trial of Jesus bears the closest resemblance in its local color to the trial of the Jews before Florus (*War*, ii, 14:8 f.). The Pavement (John 19:13) was doubtless the open place in front of

⁵ See Zahn, "Die *Dormitio Sanctae Virginis* und das Haus des Johannes Markus," *Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift*, Vol. X (1899), pp. 377 ff.; Mommert, *Die Dormitio und das deutsche Grundstück auf dem traditionellen Zion*; Sanday, *Sacred Sites of the Gospels*, pp. 77-87.

the Palace. In this case the Via Dolorosa, leading from Antonia to the Church of the Sepulchre, must be regarded as spurious.⁶

From the Praetorium Jesus was sent by Pilate to Herod Antipas, king of Galilee (Luke 23:6-12). After Judea became a Roman province, and the procurators took possession of Herod's Palace, the princes of the Herodian family resided in the old Palace of the Hasmoneans whenever they visited Jerusalem. Here dwelt Agrippa II in 66 A. D., when he came up to try to pacify the Jews (*Ant.*, xx, 8:11; *War*, ii, 16:3). Here also we must suppose that Herod Antipas was quartered when he visited Jerusalem at the time of the Passover.

Herod Antipas sent Jesus back to Pilate at Herod's Palace, and Pilate sentenced him to death. Jesus was then led *outside* of the city wall to be crucified (Matt. 27:32; Mark 15:20; John 19:17-20; Heb. 13:12), and was buried "in the place where he was crucified" (John 19:41). The traditional site of the crucifixion and entombment is the Church of the Holy Sepulcher on the northern hill of Jerusalem. The historical evidence for this site is neither very old nor very trustworthy. Eusebius⁷ tells us that Constantine (in 326 A. D.) sent orders to Macarius, bishop of Jerusalem, to search for the true cross. He nowhere tells us that Macarius knew a tradition in regard to the location of Golgotha; in fact, he expressly informs us that the tomb of Christ was found "contrary to expectation;" and later historians assert that the discovery of the spot was miraculous. When one considers the ease with which holy places have been identified and are still identified by interested ecclesiastics, one is not sure that Macarius must have had the best of historical evidence before he gratified the emperor by informing him that the True Cross and the Holy Sepulcher had been discovered. From the time of Constantine onward there is an unbroken chain of evidence connecting the basilica that Constantine reared over the supposed Sepulcher with the modern Church of the Holy Sepulcher, but that does not help to bridge the gap between Constantine and the time of Christ. The traditional evidence here is evidently of a very different sort from that which is offered in support of the Cenaculum. All that can be said is, that if the site of the Church

⁶ See Spiess, *Das Jerusalem des Josephus*, p. 23; Kreyenbühl, *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, Vol. III (1902), pp. 15-22.

⁷ *Life of Constantine*, iii. 25 f.

of the Sepulcher lay outside of the second wall on the north, which was the outer wall in the time of Christ, then it is possible that it marks the scene of the crucifixion and entombment. This is more than doubtful, since no satisfactory archaeological evidence has yet been produced of the existence of a second wall on the north *inside* of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher. In 1884 Schick, in the service of the Russian Palestine Society, traced a hypothetical second wall inside



Photograph by L. B. Paton

CONJECTURAL SITE OF GOLGOTHA

of the Sepulcher. This wall has found a place on a number of recent maps, but the most competent Jerusalem archaeologists are agreed that there is no proof that the masonry which Schick found ever belonged to a city wall. In a previous discussion of the course of Manasseh's wall⁸ the evidence has been presented which goes to show that the second wall on the north (No. 4 on the plan) followed substantially the line of the present north wall of the city. In that case the site of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher lay inside of the

⁸ See pp. 109-15.

city-wall in the time of Christ, and, therefore, cannot be the true scene of the crucifixion and entombment.⁹ Where the real place was must always remain a matter of conjecture. Many have thought that the bare rocky hill north of the city, outside of the Damascus gate, which bears a singular resemblance to a skull, is the true Golgotha, or "Place of the Skull," where the crucifixion took place, and that a rock-hewn tomb at the foot of this hill was the place of burial. All that can be said in support of this theory is, that this hill looks like a skull and that it lay outside of the city-wall in the time of Christ.

The final scene of our Lord's earthly life was the ascension. According to Acts 1:12 this took place from the Mount of Olives ("over against Bethany," Luke 24:50). This is the well-known mountain on the east side of Kidron opposite to the Temple.

During the period between the death of Christ and the fall of Jerusalem the most important architectural undertaking was the erection of the third wall on the north in 40-41 A. D. by Agrippa I. This wall is described by Josephus (*War*, v, 4:2) as beginning at the Tower Hippicus at the northwest corner of the Old City, running thence to the Tower Psephinus, thence past the monument of Helena, queen of Adiabene, through the Royal Caverns, past the Fuller's Monument, to the northeast angle of the Temple. If, as we have seen, the second wall on the north must be identified substantially with the present north wall of the city, then Agrippa's wall must be sought outside of this line. In 1838 Robinson found numerous large stones that he believed to have belonged to it still extant in the fields north of Jerusalem, and he was able to plot its course from the northwest corner of the city to the Nablus Road. Old residents of Jerusalem well remember the time when great drafted stones such as Robinson observed were to be seen in the open country to the north. The growth of the modern city has, however, obliterated all these remains. For a distance of a third of a mile from the present north wall the land has been thickly covered with houses, and the ancient stones have been broken up to use as building material. Yet, in spite of this work of destruction, traces of this wall still occasionally turn up, and in the side of a cistern

⁹ See Wilson, *Golgotha and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre*; Paton, "The Third Wall of Jerusalem and Some Excavations on Its Supposed Site," *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. XXIV (1905), pp. 199-205.

east of the Nâblus Road and back of St. Stephen's Church three great drafted stones are still visible that may have belonged to it. On the strength of this evidence I have followed Robinson in plotting the course of this wall (No. 5) on the map.¹⁰

The region added to the city by this wall was known as the New City, and included the Bezetha quarter north of the Temple. In it were situated the Camp of the Assyrians, where Titus encamped after



Photograph by L. B. Paton

STONES THAT MAY HAVE BELONGED TO AGRIPPA'S WALL

the capture of the outer wall (*War*, v, 7:3), the Wood Market (*War*, ii, 19:4), the Wool Market, the Bazaar of the Smiths, and the Clothes Market (*War*, v, 8:1), in regard to whose precise location nothing very definite can be said.

Other buildings of the same period as Agrippa's wall were the Palace of Bernice, the sister of Agrippa II (*War*, ii, 17:6), which

¹⁰ See Robinson, *Biblical Researches in Palestine*, Vol. I, pp. 465 ff.; Merrill, "A Section of Agrippa's Wall," *Palestine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Statement*, 1903, pp. 158 f.; Paton, "The Third Wall of Jerusalem and Some Excavations on its Supposed Site," *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. XXIV (1905), pp. 205-11.

was situated near the Palace of the Hasmoneans; the Palace of Helena, queen of Adiabene, a convert to Judaism, who took up her abode on the southeast hill in 46 A. D. (*War*, v, 6:1; vi, 6:3); the Palace of Monobazus, her son, in the same quarter (*War*, v, 6:1); and the Palace of Grapte, a relative of King Izates of Adiabene, also on the southwest hill, but near the Temple (*War*, iv, 9:11). Agrippa also enlarged the Maccabean Palace by the addition of a great banquet-



Photograph by L. B. Paton

TOMBS OF THE KINGS

hall, from which he could observe all that went on in the Temple. To prevent this the Jews built a high wall on the west side of the Temple. Agrippa and Festus, the procurator, tried to have it removed, but Nero at the request of Poppaea allowed it to remain (*Ant.*, xx, 8:11). The tomb erected by Helena of Adiabene for herself and her family lay near the third wall on the north (*War*, v, 4:2; *Ant.*, xx, 4:3). It is doubtless to be identified with the so-called "Tombs of the Kings" near the residence of the Anglican bishop.

In 66 A. D. the war of rebellion against the Romans broke out, and

in 70 A. D. the siege of the city was begun by Titus. After a long and stubborn resistance, which necessitated that every wall and every quarter of the town should be conquered separately, the city at last fell in September, 70 A. D. The Temple and other principal buildings were burned, and Titus gave orders that the city should be razed to the ground, except the wall inclosing Herod's Palace, that was left as a fortress for the Roman garrison. With this event ancient Jerusalem came to an end. Up to this time the life of the city had been uninterrupted, in spite of all the disasters that had befallen it, and the thread of historical tradition in regard to localities had not been severed; but after this event there was no longer any continuity with the past. When, sixty years later, Hadrian built Aelia Capitolina upon the site of Jerusalem, there was little left to remind one of the former city, and no one to transmit the memory of its greatness. Aelia was a new city without connection with its predecessor. At this point, accordingly, which coincides with the latest references in the New Testament, it is proper that we should conclude our study of Jerusalem in Bible times.

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